AMERICAN LEADERS

ULYSSES S. GRANT

By Louis A. Coolidge

THE PARTY BATTLES OF THE JACKSON PERIOD

By Claude G. Bowers

THIS book thoroughly covers, for the first time, one of the most dramatic periods of American political history — a period of peculiar interest as marking the beginning of modern party organization, party discipline, and political conventions, the inauguration of 'to the victor belong the spoils' policy, the creation of the modern school of practical politicians, the first serious nation-wide use of the press as a medium of party propaganda, and the first awakening of politicians to the need of cultivation of the masses.

'With keen-sighted scholarship and in facile style he has achieved a volume of admirable historical quality, worthy to rank with the finest presentations of men and events, and falling into the class with Charnwood's Lincoln, Beveridge's Marshall, and Whitlock's Belgium because of its monumental study and progressive psychology.' — William G. McAdoo in the *International Book Review.*

'An American book which all Americans should read, ponder, and respect.' — Don C. Seitz in the *New York World.*

REFERENCE LIBRARY * HOUGHTON MIFFLIN CO. * BOSTON, MASS.
Archive
Collection

This book may not leave the Offices
and if borrowed must be returned within 7 days

GREAT PRESIDENTS

President Grant
In His Second Term

ULYSSES S. GRANT

BY

LOUIS A. COOLIDGE

VOLUME II

BOSTON AND NEW YORK
HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY
The Riverside Press Cambridge
1924

COPYRIGHT, 1917 AND 1922, BY LOUIS A. COOLIDGE

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

The Riverside Press
CAMBRIDGE · MASSACHUSETTS
PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

CONTENTS

XXXII. Arbitration with Great Britain . . 293

XXXIII. The San Domingo Tragedy . . . 312

XXXIV. The Cuban Problem — Sound Finance — "Black Friday" 335

XXXV. The Legal Tender Decision . . . 350

XXXVI. Bitter Problems — The South — The Negro — Enforcement Acts . . 357

XXXVII. Causes for Party Disaffection . . 379

XXXVIII. Reforms — The Tariff; The Civil Service; The Indian 394

XXXIX. The Greeley Episode 407

XL. Crédit Mobilier — The Back Pay Grab — The Sanborn Contracts . 427

XLI. Veto of the Inflation Bill — The Resumption Act 442

XLII. A Solid South in the Making . . 456

XLIII. The Whiskey Ring — The Belknap Case — Grant's Steadfast Loyalty — The Chief Justiceship . . . 473

XLIV. The Disputed Election of 1876 . . 496

XLV. The Administration in Review . . 521

XLVI. The Trip Around the World — The Third Term 534
XLVII. The End 549
Index 567

ULYSSES S. GRANT

VOLUME II

CHAPTER XXXII

ARBITRATION WITH GREAT BRITAIN

On the very threshold of his Administration Grant found confronting him the problem of our grievances against Great Britain which had been accumulating ever since her recognition of Confederate belligerency in the first year of the Civil War. Upon the heels of recognition — a perfectly legitimate proceeding, although resented bitterly throughout the North — had come the devastating cruises of the Alabama, Florida, and Shenandoah, fitted out in British yards, under the eyes of British functionaries, and manned with Confederate naval officers with the express design of preying on our foreign commerce.

Charles Francis Adams, our Minister at London, had demanded reparation for damage caused by the British-built Confederate cruisers, but the British Government toward the end of 1865 had somewhat curtly declined consideration of our claims and nothing further was done about it until in August, 1868, Reverdy Johnson arrived in London as Minister by Johnson's appointment and undertook without delay negotiations looking toward a settlement. A noticeable change had come upon the spirit of Eng-

lish statesmen confronted with the probability of an embroilment in continental quarrels. They were now glad to reach an understanding with the United States so that the precedent established by the Alabama case might not be used to justify the fitting out of hostile cruisers in American ports to prey on English commerce in event of war.

Johnson was welcomed with effusiveness, and he was flattered by the marked attentions he received. He entered joyfully on a career of after-dinner oratory, gushed over those who had been most ostentatious in their sympathy for the Confederate cause, shook hands in public with Laird, who bragged about having built the Alabama, and went so far in his endeavor to ingratiate himself in his new post as to arouse distrust at home. When in January he concluded with the British Foreign Secretary the Johnson-Clarendon Convention, both he and Seward were dazed to find that terms which twelve months earlier would have been ratified with little opposition were now resented by the Senate and the people as the result of truckling to the English Government by a tuft-hunting diplomat. Besides, feeling against England had grown more bitter. The sympathy for Ireland in her struggle for home rule was gaining strength, and Fenian border raids against Canada had become a factor to be considered.

The convention was carried over into the new Administration, and when it came up for action in the Senate, it was almost literally without a friend. Ratification was defeated by a vote of 54 to 1, on April 13, 1869. The debate consisted chiefly in a speech by Sumner for which there was no need and which might much better never have been uttered. But Sumner, never discreet, insisted upon a spoken record of his attitude, and his impassioned attack upon Great Britain, from which the ban of secrecy was removed by formal vote, went into history to become a mischief-breeding influence on subsequent events.

It was close upon the heels of the rejection of the Johnson-Clarendon Convention, while Sumner's extraordinary demands still stirred public imagination, that Motley was named as Johnson's successor at the Court of St. James. Charles Francis Adams, the elder, recently returned from the British mission and watching at home the progress of affairs, wrote privately that the practical effect of Sumner's speech and the rejection of the treaty was "to raise the scale of our demands for reparation so very high that there is no chance of negotiation left, unless the English have lost all their spirit and character." Sumner with splendid efflorescence of mathematics had figured that our direct or individual losses "due to the

foraging of the Alabama" were $15,000,000, but this modest sum left without recognition "the vaster damage to commerce driven from the ocean," which he reckoned at $110,000,000, and he added, "Of course this is only an item in our bill."

He traced the prolongation of the war directly to England. "The rebellion was originally encouraged by hope of support from England," he cried; "it was strengthened at once by the concession of belligerent rights on the ocean; it was fed to the end by British supplies . . . ; it was quickened into frantic life with every report from the British pirates, flaming anew with every burning ship; nor can it be doubted that without British intervention the rebellion would have soon succumbed under the well-directed efforts of the National Government. Not weeks nor months but years were added in this way to our war, so full of costly sacrifice."

Calculating that the rebellion was suppressed at a cost of more than $4,000,000,000 and that through British intervention the war was doubled in duration, he came easily to the conclusion that England was chargeable with half the total expenditure, or $2,000,000,000, making our entire bill against her $2,125,000,000, at a low estimate. This sounded large and bellicose, but the explanation seems to be that Sumner had no intention either of collecting

such a claim or of risking war with England to enforce it. What Sumner had in mind was not the collection of an enormous indemnity in money, but rather the adjustment of all differences through annexation of British territory and the withdrawal of the British flag from North America.

The annexation of Canada, especially in view of the aggressive Irish sentiment at the time and the recurring Fenian demonstrations, was not a preposterous proposal, but there was a difference of opinion as to how best to go about it. Chandler in the Senate had suggested that it was an essential to continue peace: "We cannot afford to have our enemies' base so near us. It is a national necessity that we should have the British possessions. I hope that such a negotiation will be opened and that it will be a peaceful one; but if it should not be, and England insists on war, then let the war be short, sharp, and decisive." We have Grant's own authority for believing that he would not have been afraid of such an outcome. He thought at one time during the year that Sheridan could have taken Canada in thirty days. Moreover, British statesmen did not set such store on their American possessions fifty years ago as later, and they might have welcomed a separation effected in a creditable way. The real obstacle to annexation lay with the Canadians themselves, who have never

seen the time when they did not prefer connection with the mother country to union with our own.

Grant was an expansionist as much as Sumner, but he looked upon expansion to the north more as a military problem than a question of sentiment. His mind dwelt much more readily on territorial extension to the south. Cuba, San Domingo, and Mexico, with their untold natural resources awaiting the inspiration of American development, appealed to him with greater force than the barren stretches of the Canadian Northwest, and here is where he differed radically from Sumner, who, throughout a tempestuous career in studying his political compass, had been accustomed to associate the North with human liberty and the South with slaves.

It was in this divergence between Grant and Sumner that Fish, the conservative, unimaginative lawyer, elevated against his own inclination to be Secretary of State, found an opportunity for wise and courageous service. Sumner assumed that in his capacity as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations and leader of the Senate, the shaping of the foreign policy would now devolve upon him. Motley, his lifelong friend, was unconsciously under his influence, and might also be said in his new mission to regard himself as representing Sumner rather than the President or the Secretary of State.

Motley's first act after confirmation was to prepare a memorandum which he handed to Fish outlining the instructions which should be given him. The memorandum might as well have been dictated by Sumner, so accurately did it reflect his views. It questioned the advisability of trying to renew negotiations, dilated on the Queen's proclamation of May, 1861, recognizing Southern belligerency, as a wrong committed by Great Britain and deeply felt by the American people, — a sense of wrong declared gravely, solemnly, without passion, and not to be expunged by a mere money payment to reimburse a few captures and conflagrations at sea.

Grant was disposed to let Motley go ahead; but Fish, already sensible of his new responsibilities, had other things in view. In the first place, he had determined if possible to reopen negotiations and bring them to a successful conclusion. In the second place, events in Cuba were so shaping themselves as to affect the manner of our approach to the British problem. He took his own time in preparing Motley's instructions, and when completed, they bore little resemblance to the memorandum submitted. He declared that in spite of the failure of the Johnson-Clarendon Convention the Government of the United States did not abandon hope of "an early, satisfactory, and friendly settlement of the questions depend-

ing between the two Governments" and expressed the President's hope that the suspension of negotiations would be regarded by Her Majesty's Government, as it was by him, "as wholly in the interest of, and solely with a view to, an early and friendly settlement." Nothing here about "massive grievance," "indirect claims," "immense and infinite damages," or "ill-omened" and "fatal" proclamation which had "opened the flood-gates to infinite woes."

Fish always thought that negotiations could be conducted more satisfactorily in Washington than London; and within a week after the rejection of the Johnson-Clarendon Convention he had written to a friend: "Whenever negotiations are renewed, the atmosphere and the surroundings of this side of the water are more favorable to a proper solution of the question than the dinner tables and the public banquetings of England." This was before he had opportunity to appraise the diplomatic skill of Motley and before he had been regaled with a perusal of Motley's memorandum.

Motley reached England with his revised instructions early in May, 1869, still imbued with Sumner's conception of the measureless injury done the Union cause by the proclamation of belligerency. So complete was his misapprehension of the purpose of his mission that in his first interview with Lord Claren-

don he laid special stress upon the proclamation as "the fountain head of the disasters which had been caused to the American people, both individually and collectively." With the submission to his superior of the report of this interview, Motley's career as a diplomat may fairly be said to have come to an end.

John Russell Young reports Grant as saying at Edinburgh in 1877, "Mr. Motley had to be instructed. The instructions were prepared very carefully, and after Governor Fish and I had gone over them for the last time, I wrote an addendum charging him that above all things he should handle the subject of the Alabama claims with the greatest delicacy. Mr. Motley, instead of obeying his implicit instructions, deliberately fell in line with Sumner and thus added insult to the previous injury. As soon as I heard of it, I went over to the State Department and told Governor Fish to dismiss Motley at once. I was very angry indeed, and I have been sorry many a time since that I did not stick to my first determination. Mr. Fish advised delay, because of Sumner's position in the Senate and his attitude on the treaty question. We did not want to stir him up just then. We dispatched a severe note of censure to Motley at once and asked him to abstain from any further connection with these questions."

Motley's subsequent residence in England, how-

ever creditable and brilliant may have been its personal and social aspects, had little bearing upon results except as it may have retarded them. The negotiations leading to the Treaty of Washington and the settlement of the Alabama claims, through the Geneva Tribunal, were carried on to a successful conclusion in Washington without his participation. The final request for his resignation and his summary removal, though figuring dramatically in the history of the time, had no effect upon our diplomatic negotiations with the country to which he was accredited, though in part incidental to them.

It was through Caleb Cushing that the first steps were taken toward a renewal of negotiations. As counsel before the joint tribunal arbitrating the claims of the Hudson's Bay and Puget Sound Companies under the Treaty of 1863, he had made the acquaintance of John Rose, acting as British Commissioner, a man of prominence in Canadian public life described as "a natural diplomat of a high order." By suggestion of Rose, who may have spoken with authority, Cushing arranged an interview in Washington between Rose and Fish. On July 8, just four weeks after Motley's unhappy interview with Clarendon, they came together, and while Motley was discoursing despondently in London about "a path surrounded by peril" and "grave and disas-

trous misunderstandings and cruel war," Fish and Rose were already well advanced on the road to a renewal of negotiations.

These informal exchanges continued through the summer and autumn. Sumner, not yet alienated from Fish, was cognizant of them. He was even advised, although no names were given, of a letter now historic, in which Rose, writing from London, asked: "Is your representative here a gentleman of the most conciliatory spirit? . . . I think I understood you to say that you thought negotiations would be more likely to be attended with satisfactory results, if they were transferred to and were concluded at Washington; because you could from time to time communicate confidentially with leading Senators and know how far you could carry that body with you. . . . But again is your representative of that mind? And how is it to be brought about? By a new or a special envoy — as you spoke of — or quietly through Mr. Thornton?" Sumner not only ignored the intended hint for Motley's benefit, but treated it as an anonymous attack entitled to contempt; while Oliver Wendell Holmes, the loving and loyally biased biographer of Motley, writing in 1879, two years after Motley's death, refers to the then unnamed writer as "a faithless friend, a disguised enemy, a secret emissary, or an injudicious alarmist."

After the earlier steps coincident with sending Motley to London, Grant gave Fish a free hand with the British Foreign Office. But Fish could never have succeeded in his diplomacy if he had not felt Grant behind him all the time, approving him in every stand he made, and giving him unfaltering support. It would be hard to say to which belongs the greater credit for the final diplomatic triumph, Grant or Fish; but the responsibility for success or failure lay with Grant.

In his first annual message of December 6, 1869, Grant commented with approval on the rejection of the Johnson-Clarendon Convention. "The injuries resulting to the United States by reason of the course adopted by Great Britain during our late Civil War . . . could not be adjusted and satisfied as ordinary commercial claims, which continually arise between commercial nations, and yet the convention treated them as such ordinary claims, from which they differ more widely in the gravity of their character than in the magnitude of their amount, great even as is that difference. Not a word was found in the treaty, and not an inference could be drawn from it, to remove the sense of unfriendliness of the course of Great Britain in our struggle for existence which had so deeply and universally impressed itself upon the people of this country." The rejection of the treaty,

"thus misconceived in its scope and inadequate in its provisions," he regarded as in the interest of peace. "A sensitive people, conscious of their power, are more at ease under a great wrong, wholly unatoned, than under the restraint of a settlement which satisfies neither their ideas of justice nor their grave sense of the grievances they have sustained."

He expressed the hope that the time might soon arrive "when the two Governments may approach the solution of this momentous question with an appreciation of what is due the rights, dignity, and honor of each, and with the determination not only to remove the causes of complaint in the past, but to lay the foundation of a broad principle of public law which will prevent future differences and tend to firm and continued peace and friendship." How fully this hope was realized will appear in the result.

The Franco-Prussian War came in to help, for England, in the face of trouble on the Continent, was getting ready in the fall of 1870 to bring about a suitable adjustment of all outstanding quarrels. Grant seized the opportunity in his second annual message, December 5, 1870, to stimulate the British Foreign Office to greater haste. He regretted to say "that no conclusion has been reached for the adjustment of the claims against Great Britain growing out of the

course adopted by that Government during the rebellion. The Cabinet of London, so far as its views have been expressed, does not appear to be willing to concede that Her Majesty's Government was guilty of any negligence or did or permitted any act during the war by which the United States has just cause of complaint. Our firm and unalterable convictions are directly the reverse." He therefore recommended the appointment of a commission "to take proof of the amount and ownership of these several claims," and that authority be given for settlement of these claims by the United States so that the Government would have ownership of the private claims as well as the responsible control of all the demands against Great Britain; and he added that whenever Her Majesty's Government should desire a "full and friendly adjustment," the United States would enter upon a consideration of the claims "with an earnest desire for a conclusion consistent with the honor and dignity of both nations."

The passage containing this hint appeared in the London newspapers on December 6, 1870. Exactly five weeks later, on January 9, 1871, Mr. Rose, having hurried from London, dined with Mr. Fish in Washington, and before the evening was over the two had agreed on a confidential memorandum which was to be the basis of negotiations. From that day

until the signing of the Treaty of Washington on May 8, 1871, events moved in orderly progress under the firm guidance of the Secretary of State.

Sumner had broken completely with both Grant and Fish over the San Domingo affair during the negotiations, but he was still at the head of the "first committee of the Senate," a place which he regarded as "equal in position to anything in our Government under the President"; and Fish, with his eye fixed on the success of his undertaking, arranged through Patterson, another member of the Foreign Relations Committee, for an interview at Sumner's house. He left with Sumner on January 15 the written memorandum of his understanding with Rose. It was returned by Sumner two days later with a note admitting the propriety of Sir John Rose's idea that "all questions and causes of irritation between England and the United States should be removed absolutely and forever" and that "all points of difference should be considered together"; and concluding with this proposition: "The greatest trouble, if not peril, being a constant source of anxiety and disturbance, is from Fenianism, which is excited by the British flag in Canada. Therefore the withdrawal of the British flag cannot be abandoned as a condition or preliminary of such a settlement as is now proposed. To make the settlement complete,

the withdrawal should be from this hemisphere including provinces and islands."

An astounding suggestion it seems, and coming from the chairman of the committee which would have to pass upon any treaty for which they might pave the way, not an encouragement to further parley along the lines which the negotiations had in view; but Fish and Rose, with Grant's fixed approval, took no account of Sumner's comment and went ahead with their arrangements without considering impossible demands.

The British Minister submitted a proposal for the appointment of a Joint High Commission, to be composed of members to be named by each Government, to hold its session at Washington, and to treat and discuss the mode of settling the different questions which had arisen out of the fisheries, as well as those affecting the relations of the United States toward the British possessions in North America. Fish, backed by Grant, insisted that the Alabama question should be within the scope of discussion and settlement by the commission, and the British Government assented.

Grant, on February 9, 1871, nominated as commissioners on the part of the United States: Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State; Robert C. Schenck, Minister to Great Britain; Samuel Nelson, Associate

Justice of the Supreme Court; Ebenezer R. Hoar, of Massachusetts; George H. Williams, of Oregon. If it had not been for Sumner's unreasonableness and Motley's petulance, the historian of the Dutch Republic might well have been a member of the commission, thus adding luster to his fine career.

The British members were: Earl de Grey and Ripon, a member of Gladstone's Cabinet; Sir Stafford Northcote, a conservative leader in Parliament; Sir Edward Thornton, British Minister in Washington; Professor Montague Bernard, of Oxford University; and Sir John A. Macdonald, the Premier of Canada.

Within six weeks the British and American Joint High Commission were at work in Washington upon the treaty. When it was laid before the Senate, on the 10th of May, Sumner was no longer at the head of the Committee upon the chairmanship of which he set such store. He had been deposed in March, for reasons not directly bearing on the negotiations with Great Britain, though, as it seems to-day, the ratification of a treaty was so vital to the maintenance of friendly relations with Great Britain, that the unprecedented action of the Senate might have been justified by that alone.

Shorn of his place Sumner accepted the treaty with reasonable grace. It was ratified in due course on May 24, 1871. The principle of arbitration in in-

ternational disputes had won its first great triumph. Great Britain appointed as its arbitrator Chief Justice Alexander Cockburn; the United States, Charles Francis Adams. The King of Italy, the President of the Swiss Confederation, and the Emperor of Brazil named three neutral arbitrators. Lord Tenterden was the British agent and Sir Roundell Palmer the counsel. J. C. Bancroft Davis, Assistant Secretary of State, was agent for the United States. The American counsel were William M. Evarts, Caleb Cushing, and Morrison R. Waite.

The Board of Arbitration met at Geneva, on December 15, 1871, and in the following September it had done its work. But even to the very last the shadow of Sumner's "massive grievance" and "indirect claims" hung over it threatening in the crudeness of the manner of their presentation more than once to bring the arbitration to a futile end. Had it not been for the firmness, tact, and diplomatic comprehension of Charles Francis Adams the arbitration would have broken on those issues. On September 2, by a vote of four to one at the twenty-ninth conference, the tribunal decided to award in gross the sum of $15,500,000, to be paid in gold by Great Britain to the United States for the damage done by the Florida, Alabama, and Shenandoah. Cockburn alone dissented.

Thus Grant must have the credit for establishing the principle of arbitration in international disputes; for this was brought about by reason of the firmness with which he held to the validity of American demands. If anywhere along the line his conduct had been marked by vacillation, the result could not have been achieved. To him must also go the credit of being among the earliest to encourage the principle of a World's Congress, as afterwards embodied in the Hague Tribunal, when to the Arbitration Union in Birmingham he said: "Nothing would afford me greater happiness than to know that, as I believe will be the case, at some future day, the nations of the earth will agree upon some sort of congress, which will take cognizance of international questions of difficulty, and whose decisions will be as binding as the decisions of our Supreme Court are upon us. It is a dream of mine that some such solution may be."

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE SAN DOMINGO TRAGEDY

In the geography of the Western Hemisphere Hayti and San Domingo are insignificant. Among the Latin American republics they cut no figure; yet they have had influence on the politics of the United States quite out of keeping with their own importance. It is a rare administration which passes without unhappy experience with one or the other of these misadventures in negro self-government. Grant found in San Domingo a tragedy of his career — his first unqualified defeat.

Although once nominally united, the two sections of the island had been independent revolutionary centers for twenty-five years. Hayti, originally under the control of France, occupied a third of the island and had four fifths of the population. San Domingo, which had been a colony of Spain, though sparsely settled, furnished frequent rotations in its crops of insurrection. For some years, two leaders, Baez and Cabral, had taken turns at being president, sometimes through violence tempered by a popular primary, sometimes through violence alone.

Baez at the time was called by enemies of Grant

a mercenary adventurer, but Andrew D. White, who talked with him in Domingo, describes him as a man of force and ability, a light mulatto with none of the characteristics generally attributed in the United States to men of mixed blood. "In all his conduct he showed quiet self-reliance, independence, and the tone of a high-spirited gentleman. His family was noted in the history of the island and held large estates near the capital city. . . . There was a quiet elegance in his manners and conversation which would have done credit to any statesman in any country. . . . I have never doubted that his overtures to General Grant were patriotic. As long as he could remember he had known nothing in his country but a succession of sterile revolutions which had destroyed all its prosperity and nearly all its population."

During Johnson's Administration, Baez, out of power for a while, had come to Washington seeking intervention. In 1868 he had another term as president; while Cabral hovered on the Haytian border, waiting to pounce on him again. Baez sent a confidential agent to Washington, and Johnson in his last annual message, at Seward's instigation, recommended the annexation of the entire island.

Baez repeated his overtures almost as soon as the new Administration was installed. He met with scant consideration at first except from Grant himself, who

saw in San Domingo not only rich natural resources, but a refuge for the colored people of the South.

The project of annexation seems to have grown upon Grant before the Secretary of State or other members of the Cabinet were fully aware of it. There was talk about it in Cabinet meetings to which Grant listened without comment, and it was generally understood that the policy of the Administration was against intervention, until one day in May Grant casually remarked that as the navy seemed to want Samaná Bay for a coaling-station, he thought he would send General Babcock down to report upon it as an engineer.

Orville E. Babcock, who had been one of Grant's staff in the later years of the war, and was now detailed at the White House as an assistant private secretary, was a young man of great personal charm, energetic, intelligent, and a competent military engineer; but through his indiscreet activities and dubious associations he contrived in one way and another to get Grant into all kinds of trouble. Whatever merit there may have been in the proposed annexation, there was very little in Babcock's part in it, for which Grant with his customary loyalty accepted full responsibility. Babcock started for San Domingo in July, 1869, under instructions from the State department to make a complete inquiry into the pop-

ulation and resources of the island. A naval vessel was placed at his disposal.

On September 4 Babcock executed with the Dominican authorities a protocol which stipulated for the annexation of the Dominican Republic with the payment of $1,500,000 by the United States for the extinction of the Dominican debt. In the body of the protocol he assumed the ambitious title of "Aide-de-camp to His Excellency Ulysses S. Grant, President of the United States of America," and added the extraordinary pledge that the President "promises privately to use all his influence in order that the idea of annexing the Dominican Republic to the United States may acquire such a degree of popularity among members of Congress as will be necessary for its accomplishment."

Fish was astounded when he discovered what Babcock had brought back with him. "What do you think?" he exclaimed to Jacob D. Cox. "Babcock 's back and has actually brought a treaty for the cession of San Domingo; yet I pledge you my word he had no more diplomatic authority than any other casual visitor to that island!" Fish would have ended the incident there and forgotten it. He did not dream that Grant would father Babcock's queer performance.

At the next Cabinet meeting Grant began by say-

ing, "Babcock has returned, as you see, and has brought a treaty of annexation. I suppose it is not formal, as he had no diplomatic powers; but we can easily cure that. We can send back the treaty, and have Perry, the consular agent, sign it; and as he is an officer of the State Department it would make it all right."

There was an awkward silence, broken finally by Cox, who asked, "But, Mr. President, has it been settled, then, that we want to annex San Domingo?" Grant colored and smoked hard at his cigar. Fish was impassive, his eyes fixed on the portfolio before him. There was no response from any one. "As the silence became painful," writes Cox, "the President called for another item of business and left the question unanswered. The subject was never again brought up before the assembled Cabinet."

Fish was in an intolerable position. Not only had his department been compromised by Babcock's undertaking, but his own sincerity was called in question because in frequent conversations with Sumner he had always treated the talk of annexation as idle gossip. He tendered his resignation. Grant begged him to stay. He wanted San Domingo, but he needed Fish; and the Secretary, ambitious to bring the negotiations with Great Britain to a successful issue, yielded in San Domingo in order that

he might achieve the greater end. Babcock was sent back to San Domingo, where he concluded two treaties, one for annexation, the other for the lease of the Bay of Samaná, giving at the same time the President's guaranty to the Dominican Republic against all foreign intervention until the treaties could be submitted to the Dominican people, a guaranty which was enforced for months by ships of our navy under Secretary Robeson's explicit instructions.

Leaving our men-of-war in the neighborhood to insure protection to Baez, Babcock came back to Washington in December bringing his treaties with him. Congress was in holiday recess and Grant undertook to assure himself of the support of Sumner who was one of the few Senators remaining in town.

On the evening of the first Sunday in January the President called at Sumner's house and found him at dinner with two friends, Ben: Perley Poore, the Washington correspondent, and Colonel John W. Forney, the Secretary of the Senate. This interview played a vital part in the subsequent history of the Administration and marked the beginning of the irreconcilable breach between Grant and Sumner. Grant always contended that Sumner promised to support the treaty. Sumner denied that he had done anything of the kind. Of the two witnesses Forney subsequently expressed the opinion that Grant was

justified in feeling he could count on Sumner's backing; while Poore declared that "the President and the Senator misunderstood each other."

According to Poore, Grant did not have the treaties or any memorandum of them with him. He dwelt especially upon the expenditure by General Babcock of a large sum taken from a secret service fund for promoting intercourse with the West Indies and impressed Sumner with the idea that he feared an attack in Congress over that expenditure. "While I know," wrote Poore in 1877, "that Mr. Sumner thought that the President had come to enlist his services in defending this expenditure by General Babcock, I have no doubt but that the President meant (as Colonel Forney thought and as I thought) the treaty for the acquisition of the Dominican Republic."

The President promised to send General Babcock to call on the Senator the next day, with copies of the papers, and left. As Mr. Sumner escorted him to the door he said, according to Forney: "Well, Mr. President, I am a Republican and an Administration man, and I will do all I can to make your Administration a success. I will give the subject my best thought and will do all I can rightly and considerately to aid you." Sumner gave his own version in the speech he made in the Senate December 21, 1870, as follows: "I have

heard it said that I assured the President that I would support the Administration in this measure. Never! He may have formed that opinion, but never did I say anything to justify it; nor did I suppose he could have failed to appreciate the reserve with which I spoke. My language, I repeat, was precise, well considered, and chosen in advance; 'I am an Administration man, and whatever you do will always find in me the most careful and candid consideration.' In this statement I am positive. It was early fixed in my mind and I know that I am right."

Upon such seemingly slight divergences of view depended subsequent events. Upon a difference in interpretation of a single sentence, Grant had no right to charge Sumner later with a breach of faith, but there was another feature seldom alluded to by the historians of the time which contributed to the bitterness. Sumner always maintained and declared frequently in conversation that Grant was intoxicated that day, and the charge undoubtedly reached Grant's ears. Poore says that Grant was "not in the slightest degree under the influence of alcohol." He thinks that Sumner drew his inference from the fact that, before the subject of San Domingo came up for consideration at all, the President became intemperately angry and "expressed himself with more warmth than I ever saw him display either before or

since that evening," in discussing the case of ex-Representative Ashley, of Ohio, who had been deposed from his position as Governor of Montana, whom Sumner was anxious to see restored and whom Grant hotly denounced as a mischief-maker and a worthless fellow.

Babcock called on Sumner the next day with copies of the treaties, and Sumner plainly indicated his displeasure with the terms. He resented it that the President of the United States should be pledged to lobby the treaty through the Senate and this resentment intensified the prejudice he held against the annexation project as a whole, feeling as he did that the extinction of the Black Republic would be a wrong to the negro who had there an opportunity to work out a problem in self-government. On January 18 the treaties were laid before the Committee on Foreign Relations and a majority of the Committee expressed their disapproval.

Grant, quick to learn the Committee's attitude, became more set than ever in his purpose. He summoned Senators to the White House; he camped out in the President's room at the Capitol and begged one after another personally to support the treaties. But it was all in vain. The treaties lay with the Committee till March 15, when an adverse report was voted. Sumner, Schurz, Patterson, Cameron,

and Casserly in favor of rejection; Morton and Harlan against. Grant still persisted in the face of defeat apparently assured. Two days after the adverse report he visited the Senate and sent for fourteen Senators to meet him. He continued his activities while the annexation treaty was under consideration, and while it was laid aside for weeks without action.[1] The day before the vote in Committee he had sent a brief message urging favorable action and expressing the earnest wish that the Senate would not permit the treaty to expire by limitation. On May 31 he sent another message urging an

[1] Schurz tells how Grant, meeting him at a reception, asked him to the White House where he plunged forthwith into the subject he had at heart. "I hear you are a member of the Senate Committee that has the San Domingo treaty under consideration," he said, "and I wish you would support that treaty. Won't you do that?" Schurz said frankly he could not do so, and proceeded to give his reasons at considerable length and with great earnestness. "At first the President listened to me with evident interest, looking at me as if the objections to the treaty which I expressed were quite new to him, and made an impression on his mind. But after a while I noticed that his eyes wandered about the room and I became doubtful whether he listened to me at all. When I had stopped he sat silent for a minute or two. I, of course, sat silent, too, waiting for him to speak. At last he said in a perfectly calm tone as if nothing had happened: 'Well, I hope you will at least vote for the confirmation of Mr. Jones, whom I have selected for a foreign mission.'" Schurz had never heard of Jones and when his name came before the Foreign Relations Committee a few days later, after his nomination to be Minister to Belgium, it appeared that other members of the committee were equally in the dark. He was interested in street-car lines in Chicago and was subsequently confirmed.

extension of time and pressing with fervor the advantages of annexation.

"I feel an unusual anxiety," he said, "for the ratification of this treaty, because I believe it will redound greatly to the glory of the two countries interested, to civilization and to the extirpation of the institution of slavery. The doctrine promulgated by President Monroe has been adhered to by all political parties, and I now deem it proper to assert the equally important principle that hereafter no territory on this continent shall be regarded as subject to transfer to a European power. The Government of San Domingo has voluntarily sought this annexation. It is a weak power numbering probably less than 120,000 souls, and yet possessing one of the richest territories under the sun, capable of supporting a population of 10,000,000 people in luxury. . . . The acquisition of San Domingo is an adherence to the 'Monroe Doctrine'; it is a measure of national protection; it is asserting our just claim to a controlling influence over the great commercial traffic soon to flow from east to west by the way of the Isthmus of Darien; it is to build up our merchant marine; it is to furnish new markets for the products of our farms, shops, and manufactories; it is to make slavery insupportable in Cuba and Porto Rico at once, and ultimately so in Brazil; it is to settle the unhappy

condition of Cuba and end an exterminating conflict; it is to provide honest means of paying our honest debts, without overtaxing the people; it is to furnish our citizens with the necessaries of everyday life at cheaper rates than ever before; and it is in fine a rapid stride toward that greatness which the intelligence, industry, and enterprise of the citizens of the United States entitle this country to assume among nations."

Thus Grant's conception of the importance of annexation fattened on opposition, and when, on June 30, ratification was defeated by a tie vote in the Senate, 28 to 28, his anger was proportionately intense, especially against Sumner, who he believed had proved faithless after giving him assurance of support. In debate the Senator had denounced the manner of negotiations, and had bitterly assailed Babcock as Grant's personal emissary. Busybodies were quick to instill in Grant's mind the suspicion that charges of fraud and corruption which were widely spread really emanated from Sumner, so that Grant's resentment centered on the Massachusetts Senator. When, the day after the rejection of the treaty, Fish by Grant's direction asked Motley for his resignation the general conclusion was inevitable that this was an act of reprisal against Motley's friend and sponsor.

Grant never admitted this and Motley had been for months in bad favor with the Administration, owing partly to his early ineptness in the negotiations with Great Britain and partly to lack of tact in his dealings with the President, as when he refused to appoint young Nicholas Fish as one of his secretaries when Grant personally requested it. Adam Badeau declares that on May 15, six weeks before the vote on the treaty, Grant told him at the White House that he was going to remove Motley.

That a change in the English mission had been under advisement for some time before the rejection of the treaty, appears from Sumner's own statement in his subsequent recital of his grounds for grievance against the Administration. Fish, now loyally supporting the San Domingo project and at the time still friendly to Sumner, two weeks before the final vote, had a three hours' conference at the Senator's house one night, pressing his views, and in the course of conversation asked, "Why not go to London? I offer you the English mission. It is yours." Sumner coolly replied, "We have a minister there who cannot be bettered." He afterwards cited this suggestion as an attempt to influence him improperly. Fish said the suggestion was made impulsively through sympathy for Sumner, who had just referred to his domestic troubles. Whether it was fairly susceptible

to a sinister interpretation or not, it would certainly indicate that even before the adverse vote upon the treaty Motley's tenure was uncertain.

There came also then a sudden request for the resignation of Attorney-General Hoar, Sumner's only intimate friend in the Administration. Since Massachusetts had two cabinet members, Hoar early in the Administration had placed his resignation in the hands of the President, but nothing had been done about it. Grant, who enjoyed Hoar's humor and companionship in spite of their divergent tastes, nominated him for a vacancy on the Supreme Bench in December, 1869, but Southern Senators, whom Hoar offended by refusing to honor their endorsement of unfit men for federal judges and marshals in the South, banded together in resentment and defeated his confirmation. "What could you expect for a man who had snubbed seventy Senators?" he remarked philosophically to his friends of the Saturday Club who were inclined to sympathize with him.

One afternoon in June, shortly before the San Domingo treaty was to be voted on, he was suddenly asked for his resignation and was told frankly by Grant that he had been obliged to take the step in order to secure support in the Senate from Southern Republicans, who demanded the Cabinet place for a Southern man. The President had no one in

particular in mind for the place, but sent in the name of Akerman, of Georgia, the next day on Hoar's own suggestion that quick action would save embarrassment through Southern pressure for the place.

Motley remained in London, touched to his sensitive soul, broken in spirit, awaiting the summary removal which finally came in December. The approaches to Great Britain proceeded deftly and continuously. San Domingo slumbered; but naval vessels hovered near her coasts. On the reconvening of Congress on December 5, 1870, Grant revived the issue in his annual message. He asked for authority to negotiate a new treaty, and suggested a resolution of annexation, as in the case of Texas. "So convinced am I of the advantages to flow from the acquisition of San Domingo and the great disadvantages — I might almost say calamities — to flow from the non-acquisition, that I believe the subject has only to be investigated to be approved." Morton, fearing the serious consequences of a defeat for the Administration, induced a compromise on a resolution to appoint a commission of investigation, which he forthwith offered in the Senate.

Sumner was in a rage. His wrath had been fed by tales of tattlers. His indignation and intolerance had grown through the summer. He "roared like the Bull

of Bashan" when he got to discussing the President with his friends. Grant was equally bitter.

Sumner up to this time had not attacked the President in open debate and now a better politician and a wiser lawyer would have let the San Domingo business alone, since it was plain that annexation either by treaty or joint resolution was dead. He could have consented gracefully to Morton's innocuous commission of investigation and that would have been the end of it; but his fateful propensity for putting himself right in the record followed him now as at the time of the defeat of the Johnson-Clarendon Convention. Morton urged him to let the resolution pass without debate, but he refused; and though he was warned that if he attacked the Administration the President's friends would be forced to a defense, and an open rupture would result, he was immovable. He was obsessed with animosity, and even went so far as to assure Morton that his life had been threatened at the White House by Grant and Babcock. Morton could not laugh him out of his delusion.

He made the attack on December 21, 1870, in a speech which he entitled "Naboth's Vineyard," beginning, "The resolution commits Congress to a dance of blood," intimating that Grant was following in the steps of Pierce, Buchanan, and Andrew Johnson, and speaking of the President in a manner

"bitter and excited," according to Morton, who adds, "his course is generally regretted by his best friends of whom I am one." Chandler and Conkling made bitter personal attacks on Sumner.

Morton's resolution was adopted in both House and Senate. A commission was appointed by the President consisting of Benjamin F. Wade, a radical Republican, Andrew D. White, an unbiased college president, and Samuel G. Howe, the abolitionist, a confidential friend of Sumner. This commission visited San Domingo accompanied by many newspaper correspondents and by other observers, and returned favorable to annexation. They made a report to Congress containing a statement of facts and indicating the resources of the country. "The mere rejection by the Senate of a treaty negotiated by the President," said Grant in a message of April 5, 1871, transmitting the report, "only indicates a difference of opinion between two coördinate departments of the Government, without touching the character or wounding the pride of either. But when such rejection takes place simultaneously with charges openly made of corruption on the part of the President or those employed by him, the case is different. Indeed, in such case the honor of the nation demands investigation. This has been accomplished by the report of the commissioners herewith

transmitted, and which fully indicates the purity of the motives and action of those who represented the United States in the negotiation. . . . And now my task is finished and with it ends all personal solicitude upon the subject. My duty being done, yours begins; and I gladly hand over the whole matter to the judgment of the American people, and of their representatives in Congress assembled. The facts will now be spread before the country, and a decision rendered by that tribunal whose convictions so seldom err, and against whose will I have no policy to enforce." Nothing further was ever done toward annexation, though Grant returned to the subject repeatedly in his messages to Congress expressing regret that his recommendations had not been followed. He reiterated his arguments years later in his book. Sumner's wrathful explosion had no effect whatever upon the ultimate result. It simply served to fan a feud, fateful alike to him and to the Administration he might have served.

Andrew D. White, who entered on the inquiry with an open mind, sheds interesting light upon the character of Grant, whom he interviewed at the White House. "Instead of the taciturn man who, as his enemies insisted, said nothing because he knew nothing, had never cared for anything save military matters, and was entirely absorbed in personal in-

terests, I found a quiet, dignified public officer, who presented the history of the Santo Domingo question, and his view regarding it, in a manner large, thoughtful, and statesmanlike. . . . As I took leave of him he gave me one charge for which I shall always revere his memory. He said: ' . . . You have doubtless noticed hints in Congress and charges in various newspapers that I am financially interested in the acquisition of Santo Domingo. Now, as a man, as your fellow citizen, I demand that on your arrival in the island you examine thoroughly into all American interests there; that you study land titles and contracts with the utmost care; and that if you find anything whatever which connects me or any of my family with any of them, you expose me to the American people.' The President uttered these words in a tone of deep earnestness."

However we may criticize the way Grant tried to force the San Domingo treaty through the Senate, he will be justified by history in his intent; for he foresaw far in advance of others that some time the island must be a part of the United States. If we had taken over San Domingo when we had the opportunity, we should have been spared unpleasant complications and sordid scandals running through many years. Annexation will come about in time, but never with so little friction or expense.

"In future while I hold my present office," Grant wrote in his second inaugural, "the subject of acquisition of territory must have the support of the people before I will recommend any proposition looking to such acquisition. I say here, however, that I do not share in the apprehension held by many as to the danger of governments becoming weakened and destroyed by reason of their extension of territory. Commerce, education, and rapid transit of thought and matter by telegraph and steam have changed all this. Rather do I believe that our Great Maker is preparing the world, in his own good time, to become one nation, speaking one language, and when armies and navies will be no longer required."

The big results of an episode futile in itself soon began to show. Motley, continuing in office months beyond the time set for his resignation, was finally, in December, 1871, subjected to the humiliation of a summary recall, and Robert C. Schenck, of Ohio, a person of entirely different type, was named for London in his place, Frelinghuysen and Morton having both previously declined the appointment. Motley's last official act was to write a controversial history of his mission, for the Secretary of State, an earnest defense of his conduct in office and a criticism of his official superiors. He referred in this to the rumor that his removal was due to Sumner's

opposition to the San Domingo treaty. Fish in his reply, which bears internal evidence of having been written by another for his signature, asserted that this rumor had its origin in Washington "in a source bitterly, personally, and vindictively hostile to the President."

And then follows a passage which, when it came to Sumner's eyes on the publication of the correspondence, angered him beyond restraint as a gross and wanton insult. "Mr. Motley must know — or if he does not know it he stands alone in his ignorance of the fact — that many Senators opposed the San Domingo treaty openly, generously, and with as much efficiency as did the distinguished Senator to whom he refers and have nevertheless continued to enjoy the undiminished confidence and the friendship of the President, than whom no man living is more tolerant of honest and manly differences of opinion; is more single or sincere in his desire for the public welfare, or more disinterested or regardless of what concerns himself; is more frank and confiding in his own dealings; *is more sensitive to a betrayal of confidence or would look with more scorn and contempt upon one who uses the words and the assurances of friendship to cover a secret and determined purpose of hostility.*"

On January 9 this correspondence was sent to the Senate. Sumner up to that time, in spite of his aliena-

tion from Grant, had continued in friendly personal relations with Fish. Within a fortnight he had dined at Fish's home. When he read this passage, which he not unreasonably applied to himself, his wrath was hot. He felt that he had been betrayed by a pretended friend. From that time he had only formal relations with Fish. It was on January 15, only a week later, that Fish had to seek the interview with regard to the mission of Sir John Rose through the mediation of a common friend. Thereafter Sumner was ignored by the Administration in handling questions of diplomacy. Grant had set his heart on being rid of him.

A new Congress came into being on the 4th of March. When the Senate entered on the task of organizing its committees, the supporters of the Administration served notice that Sumner should be deposed from his position at the head of the Committee on Foreign Relations. The Massachusetts Senator had few real friends among his associates. His manner for years had been overbearing. Adams says that, while not exacting deference, "habitual deference was essential to his good-will." Those who, had he been of different temper, might have sustained him, now left him to his fate. Thenceforward, he pursued Grant without mercy. His vehement denunciation inspired others to unsparing criticism,

and who can say how far the impressions of writers of history may have been due to him? Yet Grant said to Lowell years later at Madrid: "Sumner is the only man I was ever anything but my real self to; the only man I ever tried to conciliate by artificial means." A curious comment.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE CUBAN PROBLEM — SOUND FINANCE — "BLACK FRIDAY"

Over half of Grant's inaugural was devoted to a discussion of the nation's financial credit. Four other topics were treated. He pledged himself to enforce all laws for the security of "person, property, and free religion, and political opinion in every part of our common country without regard to local prejudice," an unmistakable warning to the lawless element in the South. He declared that he would favor any course toward the Indians which would tend to their civilization and ultimate citizenship, the first of our Presidents to take such advanced position. He expressed a desire for the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution, giving to the negro the right of suffrage, a wish fulfilled in the first year of his Administration.

Grant in his inaugural enunciated his foreign policy in a few robust and pregnant sentences, the sturdy tone of which carried throughout his entire Administration. "I would deal with nations as equitable law requires individuals to deal with each other, and I would protect the law-abiding citizen, whether of native or foreign birth, wherever his

rights are jeopardized, or the flag of our country floats. I would respect the rights of all nations, demanding equal respect for our own. If others depart from this rule in their dealings with us, we may be compelled to follow their precedent."

The spirit of this declaration pervaded and galvanized our treatment of Great Britain and Canada in the Alabama claims and the fisheries and boundary disputes; of Spain in her relations with Cuba and in the Virginius affair; of Mexico and the South and Central American Republics in the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine.

We have seen how delicately the British and San Domingan questions were interlaced. The Cuban problem was a third thread in the skein.

While Fish, with the aid of Rose, was trying to bring about a renewal of negotiations with Great Britain, Grant had turned his attention to the West Indies where Cuba and San Domingo filled for the moment the field of vision. Spectacularly the rapid developments in the Antilles counted for more than the deft and cautious diplomatic approaches between our State Department and the British Foreign Office, but Fish retained throughout a sense of international proportion. He did not personally approve Grant's course in San Domingo and felt it necessary to moderate his chief's desire to meddle in the Cuban

insurrection, but so long as he had a clear path in what he deemed the greater problem, he was content in general to let Grant have his way without the risk of strained relations through offering unasked advice. There was much interest throughout the North, especially in New York financial circles, in the Cuban revolutionists, who had appealed to our Government for aid and had enlisted in their cause the sympathetic Rawlins, now Secretary of War.

Grant was strongly inclined to Rawlins's view, and as early as June 9, 1869, he asked Sumner about issuing a proclamation according belligerent rights to the insurgents, thus doing unto Spain as Spain had done to us at the beginning of the Civil War. Sumner advised against it, but Grant stuck to his idea, and having ordered a proclamation to be drawn up, he signed it on August 19 in the cabin of one of the Fall River boats and sent it to Washington by the hand of Bancroft Davis, the Assistant Secretary of State, with instructions to Fish to issue the proclamation after signing it and affixing the official seal. Fish, gingerly feeling his way toward reopening negotiations with Great Britain, was keenly alive to the difficulty involved in England's recognition of Confederate belligerency, too great emphasis upon the enormity of which by Sumner threatened to make his essay at negotiations abortive.

In his instructions to Motley he had sought to minimize the bearing upon our claims of the Queen's proclamation of May, 1861, but the proclamation still remained an ugly obstacle in his way, and he was conscious of the inconsistency of even a perfunctory assertion of our grievance while we ourselves might be upon the point of recognizing belligerent rights in a band of Cuban guerrillas who, as he afterwards wrote, "have no army, . . . no courts, do not occupy a single town or hamlet, to say nothing of a seaport." To his mind, "Great Britain or France might just as well have recognized belligerency for the Black Hawk War," and trusting to the efficacy of delay, he deposited the proclamation in a safe place after signing it, and left it there awaiting further instructions which never came.

Rawlins died September 6; "Black Friday" came; Grant's mind was fully occupied with pressing questions; and in the multiplicity of other things Fish had his way. In his annual message of December 6, 1869, the President contented himself with disclaiming any disposition on the part of the United States "to interfere with the existing relations of Spain with her colonial possessions on this continent." But public feeling was strong for recognition of belligerency, and when Congress met there was a growing pressure for the passage of resolutions to that end. Fish was the

restraining influence at this time. Had it not been for him Grant would have doubtless aided those who called for recognition. Fish advised John Sherman, who had introduced the resolution in the Senate, "to prepare bills for the increase of the public debt, and to meet the increased appropriation which will be necessary for the army, navy, etc." As the time for a vote in the House approached, he impressed on Grant the necessity of sending in a message emphasizing the importance of refraining from recognition, and wrote a special message, which was sent to Congress on June 17, treating the whole subject comprehensively. Fish says in his diary that the President "was induced with great hesitation and with much reluctance to sign it, and after it was sent in he told me that he feared he had made a mistake. . . . It evoked a fierce debate, and much denunciation, but it evoked also much good sense in the speeches of those who sustained it; an expression of good sound international law, and of honesty of purpose, and it brought the gravity of the case to the consideration of Congress; and the Administration, after the severest debate on a question of foreign policy which has occurred for years, was triumphantly sustained."

Of impressive immediate effect was the clear declaration with regard to upholding the public credit. "A great debt has been contracted by us in securing

to us and our posterity the Union," said Grant. "The payment of this principal and interest, as well as the return to a specie basis as soon as it can be accomplished without material detriment to the debtor class or to the country at large, must be provided for. To protect the national honor every dollar of government indebtedness should be paid in gold, unless otherwise expressly stipulated in the contract. Let it be understood that no repudiator of one farthing of our public debt will be trusted in public place and it will go far toward strengthening a credit which ought to be the best in the world, and will ultimately enable us to replace the debt with bonds bearing less interest than we now pay. To this should be added a faithful collection of the revenue, a strict accountability to the treasury for every dollar collected, and the greatest practical retrenchment in expenditure in every department of government."

It required some courage for the President and the Republican Party to take this attitude, for there was a strong sentiment in the country in favor of the payment of five-twenty bonds in greenbacks and a large issue of greenbacks for that purpose. A considerable party had come into being in support of this proposal, and the feeling had been accentuated by the rapid contraction of United States notes following the Civil War, $140,000,000 out of $737,000,000 having been

withdrawn in the two years preceding 1868. Johnson, although he had at his elbow in Secretary McCulloch one of the soundest of financial ministers, had extraordinary ideas personally about the repudiation of interest on government bonds, which found expression in his last annual message; and the fact that, following the London panic of May, 1866, business had been in a bad way, with a decrease in the value of property and an increase in the face value of debts, was popularly attributed to the contraction of the currency. Yet there was no hesitancy on the part of the new Administration.

The Republicans in the platform upon which Grant was elected had denounced all forms of repudiation as a national crime and declared that the national honor required the payment of the public indebtedness "in the uttermost good faith to all creditors at home and abroad not only according to the letter but the spirit of the laws"; and the very first act of the Congress which came into existence on March 4, 1869, was a law "to strengthen the public credit," which, after passing both House and Senate overwhelmingly, was signed by Grant on March 18. The law solemnly pledged the faith of the United States to the payment, in gold or its equivalent, of the United States notes and all the United States bonds except in those cases where the law authorizing their issue

provided expressly for their payment in "other currency than gold and silver." By the words of the law the United States also solemnly pledged its faith "to make provision at the earliest practicable period for the redemption of the United States notes in coin."

The episode which has come down in history as the "Gold Conspiracy," with "Black Friday" as its demoralizing climax, throws light not only upon Grant's ingenuousness, but also on the fashions of the hour. At the time of Grant's accession to the Presidency the two spectacular figures in New York financial circles were Jay Gould and James Fisk, Jr., — "Jim" Fisk as he was popularly known. Gould was the shrewdest, most subtle and ruthless trader and manipulator in the Street — a railroad wrecker after the manner of his day, with an extraordinary genius for getting money; slight in figure, reticent, keen of face, of a Semitic type. Fisk, his partner in many deals, was a speculator of another sort, big, coarse, florid in complexion, dress, and speech, a daring gambler for heavy stakes, a high liver, unscrupulous in his financial operations, immoral in his daily and nightly life.

These two, so strikingly contrasted in everything except their passion for speculation and financial power, had combined their diverse talents in 1868 to gain control of the Erie Railroad. They played with

power as though it were a toy. They flaunted their control by putting on the board of directors "Boss" Tweed and Peter B. Sweeney, the chieftains of Tammany Hall.

Gould and Fisk also owned steamers, palatial for that day, plying between New York and Fall River, a fleet of which Fisk liked to be called Admiral, and in command of which he would float up Long Island Sound with bands playing and flags flying. Gould had a project to advance the price of gold till wheat should reach a price which would induce the farmers of the West to seek the English market with their breadstuffs, thus causing a movement of crops to the seaboard, which meant plenty of freight for the Erie road.

In the early summer of 1869 gold was heavy at $1.34. There had been little change for months. To manipulate the market Gould needed a free hand; but he had to reckon with the Treasury gold reserve, and Secretary Boutwell had his own ideas about the course gold ought to take. He had been selling gold ever since he took office, setting free $2,500,000 each month, thus bringing greenbacks nearer the gold level.

Gould's problem was to stop the sales of gold, and to this end he laid the wires to get in touch with Boutwell's superior. Abel Rathbone Corbin, aged

sixty-seven, retired speculator, lobby agent, editor, and lawyer, recently married to Grant's sister, was living in New York. Gould used him to secure an introduction. On June 15, 1869, Grant visited New York on his way to the Peace Jubilee at Boston. He stayed at Corbin's house; Gould met him there.

Gould and Fisk invited Grant to continue his journey to Boston as their guest on one of the Fall River boats, and on the run up the Sound they led the conversation at dinner around to the subject of finance. "Some one," Gould testified in the investigation which followed the cataclysm, "asked the President what his view was," and to the consternation of the conspirators Grant replied bluntly that "there was a certain amount of fictitiousness about the prosperity of the country and that the bubble might as well be tapped in one way as another."

There was a vacancy in the position of Assistant Treasurer of the United States at New York, the custodian of the greatest deposit of gold in the country. The place was filled on July 1 by the appointment of General Daniel Butterfield, upon whose coöperation Gould felt he could rely. Gould did nothing to influence the market till the time for the movement of the crops approached. But in the last ten days of August, through a pool which he formed with two other large speculators, he bought from ten

to fifteen millions of gold without, however, materially increasing the premium.

On September 2, Grant, quite oblivious to what was going on, passed through New York on his way to Saratoga, and stayed a few hours at Corbin's house, seeing no one else while there.[1] In the course of conversation Grant became convinced of the soundness of Gould's theory about marketing the crops, as expounded by Corbin. He stopped in the middle of a conversation in which he had expressed his views and wrote a letter to Secretary Boutwell. Before he had left the house the purport of this letter undoubtedly was communicated to Gould, who called privately upon Corbin without Grant's knowledge.

Before a Congressional investigating committee, Boutwell subsequently testified: "I think on the evening of the 4th of September I received a letter from the President dated at New York, as I recollect it. . . . In that letter he expressed an opinion that it was undesirable to force down the price of gold. He spoke of the importance to the West of being able to move their crops. . . . Upon the receipt of the President's letter on the evening of the 4th of September, I telegraphed to Judge Richardson (Assistant Secretary of the Treasury at Washington) this

[1] Henry Adams, *The Gold Conspiracy.*

dispatch: 'Send no order to Butterfield as to sales of gold until you hear from me.'"

Thus Gould had information that the policy of the Administration with regard to the sale of gold was to be reversed fully a day before the Secretary of the Treasury himself. He lost no time in taking advantage of his opportunity. Before leaving Corbin's house, he had agreed to carry a million and a half of gold as Corbin testified later "for the sake of a lady, my wife." That same afternoon his brokers began buying gold in large quantities. By the time Boutwell received his letter on September 4, 1869, the premium had risen from 32 to 37. Then the bears began to sell short. One of Gould's associates in the pool deserted him. The market broke. Corbin made Gould pay him twenty-five thousand dollars on account. Gold settled down to 35 and lingered there for a week. Then Fisk, at Gould's suggestion, went in to buy.

Gould placed a million and a half to Butterfield's account and half a million to the credit of General Horace Porter, the President's private secretary, sending word to them through Corbin. Porter repudiated the purchase promptly. Butterfield took no notice of the transaction. After the storm broke, though he denied that he was ever notified of the transaction, so great was the scandal that he was forced to resign.

From the 10th to the 13th of September, Grant was again in New York and Gould saw him at Corbin's house, though the President by that time had become suspicious of the motives of the financier; for according to Corbin he told the servant this should be the last time Gould should be admitted. "Gould was always trying to get something out of him." It is a pity he did not earlier shut the door in Gould's face.

Plainly he had given no definite assurance regarding his policy, for when he left on the 13th for a few days' stay in the little town of Washington among the mountains of western Pennsylvania, the conspirators in their anxiety, through the complaisant Corbin, chased him up. They had bought over fifty millions and had forced the market up to 40 in spite of the increased activity of the bears. They did not dare let go for fear of a collapse. It was vital to them that the President should not direct the Secretary of the Treasury to resume the sale of gold. Corbin wrote a letter advising him to maintain his present attitude regarding the sale of gold, which Fisk sent speedily by a special messenger to reach him before his return to the White House. In order to insure its immediate delivery the messenger carried also a letter of introduction to Horace Porter. It was not till after the messenger had gone that Grant discovered the elaborate precautions to insure the prompt

delivery of an apparently unimportant communication. His suspicions were roused. At his request Mrs. Grant wrote that night to Mrs. Corbin that the President was distressed to hear that Corbin was speculating in Wall Street and hoped he would "instantly disconnect himself with anything of that sort."

Corbin wrote at once to Grant that he had not a dollar interest in gold — a letter which with the other he promptly showed to Gould who saw him daily, suggesting in order to make good the assurance to his brother-in-law that Gould should give him one hundred thousand dollars and take his gold off his hands. Gould, who had all the gold he could stagger under just then, declined the proposal, but offered him one hundred thousand dollars to stay in and not throw his million and a half on the market. Corbin refused, and then, realizing that an order to sell might come from the Treasury at any moment, Gould hurried down to Wall Street.

Fisk, still supposing that Grant was following the advice in Corbin's letter, was buying wildly. The market bounded to 162. The bears were dazed and at the mercy of the new Napoleon of the Street, when Gould without warning began to sell — the bubble burst. The Street was in a state of excitement without a precedent in all its checkered history. Within a few minutes gold had fallen to 135. The Treasury

wired its order to sell, which Gould had been expecting, but which Fisk had not surmised. Gould had got rid of his gold and his brokers' firm were able to meet their contracts; but not so with Fisk. He repudiated all but one. Their victims turned on them in wrath. They escaped by back entrances to their uptown office, while armed guards beat back the ruined traders storming at their downtown doors. There have been no scenes to equal this in Wall Street before or since. It was Friday, September 24, 1869, "Black Friday."

The punishment of the conspirators did not fit the crime. Fisk and Gould continued in control of Erie, a little more discredited. Butterfield was permitted to resign. In addition to letting Gould carry his gold for him he had borrowed money from him and had speculated in government bonds. Brother-in-law Corbin, his dreams of fortune shattered, retired to Washington, where he was not made uproariously welcome in the President's house, though he was not cast adrift. He had accomplished nothing through his plunge in high finance, except to set malicious tongues wagging.

CHAPTER XXXV

THE LEGAL TENDER DECISION

When Congress met in December, 1869, with the financial disturbances still unsettled, the President in his first annual message urged upon its attention the evil of an unredeemable currency, repeating the sentiments expressed in his inaugural. "It is the duty, and one of the highest duties of Government," he said, "to secure to the citizen a medium of fixed, unvarying value. This implies a return to a specie basis and no substitute for it can be devised. It should be commenced now and reached at the earliest practicable moment consistent with a fair regard to the interests of the debtor class." He earnestly recommended such legislation as would insure a gradual return to specie payments and put an immediate stop to fluctuations in the paper value of the measure of all values (gold) which "makes the man of business an involuntary gambler, for in all sales where future payment is to be made both parties speculate as to what will be the value of the currency to be paid and received."

At the time the national debt was $2,453,000,000. It had been decreased since March 1 by $71,903,000.

There had been set aside for the sinking fund $20,000,000 of bonds, to comply with the law of 1862, that one per cent of the entire debt should be set apart annually for this purpose. Boutwell, who, though endowed with little financial imagination, had economic common sense and thrift, concerned himself first of all throughout his administration of the Treasury in the reduction of the national debt, a policy which helped our credit at home and abroad, resulting in a total reduction during Grant's two Administrations of nearly a billion dollars.

Boutwell bought the five-twenty bonds carrying six per cent interest and sold four and one-half per cent bonds in a refunding plan elaborated by himself. He strove for the resumption of specie payments, and in his first report asked for authority to retire at his discretion two millions of greenbacks every month; but Congress failed to give him this power to contract the currency, a policy which had not been popular since McCulloch in Johnson's Administration had retired forty-four million dollars of greenbacks before further contraction was suspended by Congress in February, 1868. The contraction from McCulloch's retirement of greenbacks and from the withdrawal and funding of the compound interest legal tender notes had undoubtedly been too drastic treatment at a time when the country was none too prosperous.

Morton, of Indiana, called it the "Sangrado policy of bleeding the country nearly to death to cure it of a disease which demands tonics and building up."

Hardly had Grant's message of December, 1869, gone to the country before the whole currency question was brought vividly to the notice of the people, through the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the case of Hepburn *vs.* Griswold, that the Legal Tender Act, under which the greenbacks were authorized at the beginning of the war, was unconstitutional. The opinion of the court was handed down on February 7, 1870, by Chief Justice Chase, under whose administration as Secretary of the Treasury the law had been enacted. He now argued that the act impaired the obligation of contracts and was inconsistent with the spirit of the Constitution; that it deprived persons of property without due process of law, by forcing creditors to accept dollars of less value than those which were lent or which by the terms of the contract they had a right to expect in payment of claims. "We are obliged to conclude," said Chase as Chief Justice, "that an act [fathered by Chase as Secretary of the Treasury] making mere promises to pay dollars as legal tender in payment of debts previously contracted, is not a means appropriate, plainly adapted, really calculated, to carry into effect any express power vested in Congress; that

such an act is inconsistent with the spirit of the Constitution; and that it is prohibited by the Constitution."

Justice Miller, one of the ablest jurists who ever sat on the Supreme Bench, delivered the opinion of the minority of the court. After quoting Chief Justice Marshall, he said: "With the credit of the Government nearly exhausted and the resources of taxation inadequate to pay even the interest on the public debt, Congress was called on to devise some new means of borrowing money on the credit of the nation; for the result of the war was conceded by all thoughtful men to depend on the capacity of the Government to raise money in amounts previously unknown. . . . The coin in the country . . . would not have made a circulation sufficient to answer army purchases. . . . A general collapse of credit, of payment, and of business seemed inevitable, in which faith in the ability of the Government would have been destroyed, the rebellion would have triumphed, the States would have been left divided, and the people impoverished. The National Government would have perished, and with it the Constitution which we are now called upon to construe with such nice and critical accuracy. . . ."

The court was divided in its decision as handed down, four to three: Nelson, Clifford, and Field

siding with Chase, while Swayne and Davis agreed with Miller. Grier, who had sat with the court when it first came to its decision on November 27, 1869, and had then pronounced in favor of the constitutionality of the act, had resigned before the announcement of the decision on February 7, by unanimous request of the other justices, his senile incompetency having disclosed itself in the mean time through his statement in another case of an opinion inconsistent with his position on the Legal Tender case, and his prompt reversal of his Legal Tender opinion when the inconsistency was called to his attention. There were two vacancies on the bench on the day the decision was handed down. Wayne had died and Grier had resigned. E. R. Hoar, who had been nominated for one of the places, had been rejected by the Senate four days earlier. Edwin M. Stanton, who had been nominated for the other vacancy and promptly confirmed on December 20, had died four days after his confirmation.

It happened that on the very day the decision was handed down Grant sent to the Senate the names of William Strong, of Pennsylvania, and Joseph P. Bradley, of New Jersey. Subsequently, two other cases known as the Legal Tender cases were brought before the court. A decision affirming the constitutionality of the acts and overruling the former

decision was reached and announced on May 1, 1871. The opinion of the court, as read by Justice Strong at the following term, on January 15, 1872, declared that "we hold the acts of Congress constitutional as applied to contracts made either before or after their passage. In so holding we overrule so much of what was decided in Hepburn *vs.* Griswold as ruled the acts unwarranted by the Constitution so far as they apply to contracts made before their enactment."

The coincidence of the appointment of these two justices, and the speedy reversal of the attitude of the court on the constitutionality of the Legal Tender Acts, led not unnaturally to the conclusion in many minds, that Strong and Bradley had been named for this specific purpose, and Chief Justice Chase, by indirection, gave color to the charge that the court had been packed in order to reverse the earlier decision in which he had participated. For many years this suspicion lurked in the public consciousness, and the motives of Grant and Attorney-General Hoar, on whose recommendation the appointments were made, have been frequently called in question.

There is no ground whatever for the charge. Senator George F. Hoar, loyally defending the memory of his brother, replied to it conclusively, with great detail of circumstance, in a letter which appeared

in the "Boston Herald" in 1896 and which afterwards was printed as a pamphlet, but it did not require this marshaling of proof to clear the records of the President and his Attorney-General. The vacancies were there; they had to be filled at that time; and there was every reason why a Republican President should fill them with Republicans, as four of the seven justices had Democratic affiliations, Chase having been a candidate for the Democratic nomination for President less than two years before. It would have been hard to find a Republican judge or lawyer of prominence who was less likely than Strong and Bradley to favor the constitutionality of the Legal Tender Acts, and there is not the slightest evidence that, when Strong and Bradley were decided upon by the President and the Attorney-General and approved by the Cabinet, any one of them had an inkling of what the decision of the court was to be. Grant did not "pack the court."

CHAPTER XXXVI

BITTER PROBLEMS — THE SOUTH — THE NEGRO — ENFORCEMENT ACTS

It was Grant's misfortune to inherit the problem of the negro and the South in its most sordid and repulsive phase. The tragical blunders of Reconstruction, which under the pressure of political necessity he had half-heartedly consented to in their incipiency in Johnson's Administration, bloomed noxiously in his own. He had been sincerely the friend of the South at the close of the Civil War, and he was genuinely in favor of restoring promptly to the conquered Confederates the full rights of citizenship. He was brought by force of circumstances to accept the full measure of negro suffrage as an unwelcome reprisal for Johnson's stubbornness; but he did not regard it as inconsistent with his honest aspirations for a fully reunited country. "Let us have peace" as he penned it was not an empty phrase; yet it fell to him as President to secure what peace was feasible only through apprehension of the sword, to quell internal violence by show of force. Threats of turbulence and bloodshed in the South marked the entire period of Grant's occupancy of the White House; and with

sanction of Congress he was driven more than once to measures not contemplated by the Constitution.

The black record of carpet-bag and scalawag political control of Southern States, through misuse of the negro vote, is an ugly picture to look back on. The work of the Ku-Klux Klans and the White Leagues was equally deplorable, unworthy of a proud-spirited race and inexcusable even in the distressing circumstances which inspired them. The former slaves who reveled ostentatiously in unsought opportunities were not the best representatives of their race, but they were victims in a measure of Northern zealots, who fatuously dreamed that the poor, unlettered, childlike creatures could be at once regenerated by the baptism of the franchise.

Neither were the Ku-Klux Klans and White League ruffians typical of the South. Those who at this day try to paint them so render poor service to a high-spirited, nobly nurtured people. The outrages, riots, and murders which figured so conspicuously in Grant's Administration were as a rule the work of the lower class of whites, and in justice to the South should be so credited, exactly as the political misrule of the carpet-baggers should not be attributed to those thrifty Northern settlers whose purpose in leaving their homes was to help restore a war-

shattered territory and to participate in its renewed industrial prosperity.

The New Orleans riot of July, 1866, which Sheridan characterized as "an absolute massacre," was the first of the social disturbances which later became too prevalent. It was natural that they should begin in Louisiana; for this was the first of the Southern States to be "reconstructed," and the great negro population thus invited to participate in its government were largely plantation hands, the most ignorant and vicious of their race, many of whom had been "sold down the river" by their former masters for punishment as desperate characters. Northern adventurers were speedily on the ground at New Orleans, organizing the freedmen for political control. Corruption and legislative orgies on the one hand and violence on the other became the order of the day. A Republican majority of 26,000 in the spring elections of 1868 was transformed in November into a majority of 46,000 for Seymour and Blair.

From 1868 to 1872 misgovernment on the part of carpet-baggers and negroes, tempered by violence and intimidation on the part of the white minority, prevailed, not only in Louisiana, but in other States containing a large excess of negro population, although Virginia, thanks to the fact that Schofield had it long under military rule, escaped the invasion

of carpet-baggers and was thus in Schofield's words "saved from the vile government and spoliation which cursed the other Southern States." Bribery, thievery, and extravagance were commonplaces in the legislatures and among state officials. There was corruption in the courts; property values fell; taxes were in arrears; the state debts soared to preposterous figures; industry was paralyzed.

In Tennessee, Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia conservative forces gradually gained ascendancy during the early years of Grant's Administration; but this was not true of other States. In 1873, three fourths of the South Carolina Legislature were negroes, mulattoes, and octoroons, the most presentable of whom a few years earlier were gentlemen's servants, others of whom had been raising corn and cotton under the whip of the overseer. The State House had been lavishly refurnished; clocks and mirrors costing $600; chairs costing $60; cuspidors costing $14, had replaced the simple fittings of *ante-bellum* days. A free restaurant and bar was kept open day and night for the convenience of members of the Legislature and their friends. The public printing bills during the eight years of negro supremacy exceeded by $717,589 the total cost of printing during the seventy-eight years preceding. The total taxes paid by all the members of one Legislature

were reported to be only $634; and 67 of the 98 negro members paid no tax at all.

Negroes and carpet-baggers were sent to Congress. Some of them were men of character; others not. Men like Blanche K. Bruce, H. R. Revels, John R. Lynch, Robert Elliott, negroes all, would do credit to any race.

There is testimony also to violence by negroes in reconstructed States, tales of burning barns, cotton gins, and dwellings; of rape committed upon white women; of outrages such as bestial beings exulting in unaccustomed license might be guilty of. There is no evidence that these things were as prevalent as has been represented; but they were sufficient in connection with the political orgies at the state capitols to rouse the whites to action. Hence the increased activity of the Ku-Klux Klans, the White Leagues, the terrifying night raids, the midnight whippings, the lynchings, and innumerable unspeakable offenses, some of them committed for private vengeance or as a method of political proscription. The record is one of infamy; and the late endeavor of a few Southern novelists, playwrights, and motion-picture producers to throw about it the halo of righteous retribution and romance will make it nothing else.[1]

[1] In spite of the notoriety attaching to the operations of the Ku-Klux Klans, it should be remembered that their operations

Thus Grant was called upon to meet conditions in the South for which there was no parallel or precedent and for the existence of which he was in no way

were by no means universal in the South. They were widely separated and their virulence was confined to the black counties of the afflicted States. The various secret organizations seem to have had little more than incidental relationship among themselves. The most authentic presentation of facts appears in the majority and minority reports of a joint committee created by resolution of Congress, April 7, 1871, consisting of seven Senators and fourteen Representatives — thirteen Republicans and eight Democrats — who were authorized "to inquire into the condition of affairs in the late insurrectionary States." The majority point out that the Ku-Klux Klan was in actual operation both in Tennessee and the adjoining States some time before there were any negro legislatures or any negro voters.

The report admits the sorry character of the governments imposed upon the reconstructed States. "The refusal of their former masters to participate in political reconstruction necessarily left the negroes to be influenced by others. Many of them were elected to office, and entered it with honest intentions to do their duty, but were unfitted for its discharge. Through their instrumentality, many unworthy white men, having obtained their confidence, also procured public positions."

In South Carolina, especially, corruption was flagrant. The testimony taken by the committee discloses the demoralization which prevailed among Radicals and Democrats, — black and white alike.

Dr. R. M. Smith, a Democratic member of the Legislature, when asked if he would impose a penalty upon a man who bribes a public official, replied: "No, sir; because when it is understood that a man is for sale like a sheep, or anything else, any man has a right to buy him."

General M. C. Butler, later a United States Senator, a Confederate who wore the United States uniform as a volunteer major-general in the war with Spain, had this to say concerning land commission frauds, by which native South Carolinians sold their

to blame — conditions which would never have prevailed had the South been left a little longer under military control before being plunged into the experimental bath of Reconstruction. The steps he took to bring about a semblance of order were drastic and to some obnoxious; but at the moment they seemed obvious and necessary — and there was no lack of definiteness in his method of approach.

Virginia, Texas, and Mississippi having ratified the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, their Senators and Representatives were admitted to Congress under a resolution containing conditions calculated to prevent these States from slipping from Republican control. Hiram R. Revels, a quadroon, had the distinction of being the first colored man to hold a seat in the United States Senate, succeeding to the place last occupied by Jefferson Davis. All the Confederate States had now gone through the process of Reconstruction; but Georgia, which had been represented in the House of Representatives since 1868 under Johnson's Reconstruction, was forced to go through the process again. After she

land at five dollars an acre to the State and allowed the commission to insert ten dollars an acre as the consideration in the deed: "It was human nature almost. I do not think a strictly honest man would do it. If I had ten thousand acres of land to sell and a Senator would come to me and say, 'I will buy that if you will give me five hundred dollars,' I would buy him up as I would buy a mule."

had once been admitted to the Union the conservatives in the Legislature had committed the offense of expelling all the negro members and seating in their place white men ineligible under the Fourteenth Amendment. Her Senators-elect had never been permitted to take their seats and her Representatives were now barred from the House on the organization of the Forty-first Congress in March, 1869.

There were comparatively few carpet-baggers in Georgia, but Bullock, the radical Governor, a man of force and not oppressed by scruples, had proved himself obnoxious. The finances of the State were involved in obscurity and confusion. The Western and Atlantic Railroad, which for years had been the pride of the State, was sacrificed to politics and loot. The superintendent of the road testified that he took charge "to manage its public and political policy." The auditor saved thirty thousand dollars a year on a three thousand dollar salary, as he said, "by practicing strict economy." Grant in his annual message, December 6, 1869, recommended the reorganization of the Legislature. A law was promptly enacted containing strict stipulations regarding membership in the Legislature, providing that before her Senators and Representatives should be admitted to Congress, Georgia must ratify the Fifteenth Amendment, and that upon the application of the Governor the Presi-

dent should employ what military force was necessary to enforce the act. Terry was assigned to command, the Legislature was summoned, and under his orders twenty-four Democrats were ousted. Their places were filled by Republicans, and the negroes who had been expelled were readmitted. Thus reconstructed, the Legislature ratified the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and elected two Senators.

In Congress there was a desperate attempt not only to prescribe for Georgia the "fundamental conditions" imposed on Virginia, Texas, and Mississippi, but to prolong for two years the life of the reorganized radical Bullock Legislature. Morton, Sumner, Wilson, and other radical leaders in the Senate carried on there a long and bitter but unsuccessful fight. The Bullock scheme for prolongation was beaten and the right of Georgia to have an election in 1870 as stipulated in its constitution was confirmed. Thus for the first time since the early days of Reconstruction the conservative element in the Republican Party showed itself in the ascendancy.

Beaten at Washington, Bullock got his hand-picked Georgia Senate to pass a resolution that the Legislature should not meet until January, 1872, that no election for members should be held until November, 1872, and that,until the election, all state officers should hold their place. There was a fierce fight in

the House over the resolution which was finally defeated through the influence of Grant. Bullock then induced the Legislature to pass a law, setting December 22 as the beginning of an election which was to continue three days, the plan apparently being to give the negroes an opportunity to "repeat" from precinct to precinct. No votes were to be challenged; none refused. The poll tax levied for the past three years was declared illegal, so that no one need be disfranchised for non-payment of taxes.

The white Democrats, intent on clearing the negroes and carpet-baggers out of the State Capitol, took things into their own hands. There were no "outrages," no intimidation, no turbulence, but there was plenty of "persuasion." The negroes were unusually flush with spending-money for a few days after the election. Many of them voted the Democratic ticket. More of them stayed away from the polls. It was a test of the supremacy of intellect and cash over the passion of freemen for the ballot.

The Democrats elected two thirds of the Legislature and five out of seven Congressmen — a good beginning for a numerical minority. Thereafter Georgia had "home rule." A Democratic Governor was inaugurated two years later in 1872. The regenerated State has ever since cast its electoral vote for the Democratic candidate for President. A Southern

woman, who late in the winter of 1869 wrote that "the negroes were almost in a state of anarchy," wrote two years later, "The negroes are behaving like angels." Such was the beneficent result of the new doctrine of "persuasion."

North Carolina was an old, substantial Whig State, uncursed by negro supremacy; and yet corruption ruled. Bribery in the Legislature was open and usual. All sorts of questionable enterprises were "put across." The debt of the State increased from $16,000,000 to $32,000,000. There were Ku-Klux outrages, though not so many as in other States. Holden, the Governor, declared two counties in a state of insurrection, and sent Colonel Kirk with a body of mountaineer militia to keep the peace. Kirk arrested a hundred citizens, many of good repute, and kept them in custody in daily dread of death under martial law.

"Kirk's Raid," as it was known, stirred Washington to wrath, and there was hot debate. The judge of the United States District Court issued a writ of habeas corpus commanding Kirk to bring his prisoners before him. Grant sent a regiment to the scene and the United States Marshal called upon the troops to execute the order of the court. Finally Grant turned the whole business over to Attorney-General Akerman, who sustained the federal judge;

whereupon the court discharged the prisoners from Kirk's "unlawful custody." While all this was going on, an election was held on August 4, which resulted in general Republican defeat. The Democrats carried the Legislature and elected five out of the seven Congressmen.

Holden, the Governor, made himself especially obnoxious by garrisoning Raleigh, the State Capital, with negro troops. He was impeached, found guilty, and removed from office.

In the midst of disturbances arising from the emancipation of the negro and his imposition upon the electorate of the South, the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution became valid through ratification by the Legislatures of three fourths of the States, among them North and South Carolina, Louisiana, Arkansas, Florida, Virginia, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, and Georgia, reconstructed States of the Confederacy. The Secretary of State certified to this on March 30, 1870.

So impressed was Grant with the significance of the completion of the trilogy of changes in the organic law growing out of the Civil War that he made it the occasion of a special message to Congress, flaming with fervid rhetoric to a degree unusual for Grant. Although an editorial blue pencil would have

helped the message, the recommendations it contained were sound: "Institutions like ours, in which all power is derived from the people, must depend mainly upon their intelligence, patriotism, and industry. I call the attention, therefore, of the newly enfranchised race to the importance of their striving in every honorable manner to make themselves worthy of their new privilege. To the race most favored heretofore by our laws I would say, withhold no legal privilege of advancement to the new citizen. The framers of our Constitution firmly believed that a republican government could not endure without intelligence and education generally diffused among the people. . . . I would therefore call upon Congress to take all the means within their constitutional powers to promote and encourage popular education throughout the country and upon the people everywhere to see to it that all who possess and exercise political rights shall have the opportunity to acquire the knowledge which will make their share in the Government a blessing and not a danger."

But the first acts of Congress under the second section of the Amendment, giving that body power "to enforce this article by appropriate legislation," did not lie in the direction of popular education. On the contrary, they were intended to meet the

turbulent conditions in Southern States which had resulted in so many instances in the intimidation of the negro and the suppression of his vote by an intelligent and ruthless minority bent upon restoring the political control of their state governments to those best qualified to administer them.

In quick succession Congress passed three "enforcement acts," the first of which was signed by Grant on May 31, 1870. "The scope and purpose of the bill," said Carl Schurz in its support, "is that no State shall enforce a law with regard to elections, or the processes preliminary to elections, in which in any way, either directly or indirectly, discrimination is made against any citizen on account of race, color, or previous condition; . . . neither a State nor an individual shall deprive any citizen of the United States on account of race and color, of the free exercise of his right to participate in the functions of self-government; and the National Government assumes the duty to prevent the commission of the crime and to correct the consequences when committed."

Thurman and other Democratic Senators denounced the act as "outrage and oppression" and Edmunds bitingly called attention to the irony of the circumstance that the machinery for the enforcement of the act should have been borrowed from the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850.

One section of the act was directed toward the suppression of the Ku-Klux Klan; another authorized the President to employ when necessary the military force of the United States "to aid in the execution of judicial process" under the act, and there were special provisions for the enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Having had its taste of blood Congress went to greater lengths. On February 28, 1871, a second Enforcement Act was approved by Grant, entitled "An Act to enforce the rights of citizens of the United States to vote in the several States of this Union." It placed the elections for members of Congress under federal control; provided for the appointment of supervisors by judges of the United States Courts to insure a fair vote and honest count; empowered United States Marshals to appoint deputies to prevent interference with the right of voting, any one of whom might summon the *posse comitatus* of his district to aid in the enforcement of the law.

The act, of course, applied to all the States; in fact, it was subsequently brought to bear upon the election frauds of Tammany in New York; but its immediate object was to protect the negroes in the exercise of suffrage in the South, where, by a strange perversion of the intention of the Emancipation Proclamation and the constitutional amendments,

the white population already were beginning to realize that by counting the negro in the census and failing to count his vote they could enjoy a greater proportional representation in the House of Representatives even than before the war.

The third Enforcement Act had the like general purpose in view of establishing order in the South. The new Congress — the Forty-second — which began its sessions on March 4, according to the law enacted to curb Johnson's activities, had before it the report of a special committee appointed during the preceding session to investigate affairs in the South. On March 23, Grant called attention to the report in a special message in which he said: "A condition of affairs now exists in some of the States of the Union rendering life and property insecure and the carrying of the mails and the collection of the revenue dangerous. The proof that such a condition of affairs exists in some localities is now before the Senate. That the power to correct these evils is beyond the control of the state authorities I do not doubt; that the power of the Executive of the United States, acting within the limits of existing laws, is sufficient for present emergencies is not clear. Therefore I urgently recommend such legislation as in the judgment of Congress shall effectually secure life, liberty, and property and the en-

forcement of the law in all parts of the United States."

Feeling was intense at the moment, and Congress quickly complied with the request of the President, by passing the law of April 20, 1871, "to enforce the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment." This law conferred upon the President extraordinary powers. One section authorized him to suspend the privileges of the writ of habeas corpus, the authority to expire at the end of the succeeding session of Congress.

The election of 1872 was approaching and there were signs of division among Republican leaders, but with a few exceptions the party stood well together in support of the Ku-Klux Bill as it was called.

The Democrats of the Senate were vehement in opposition, even while admitting the existence of the outrages. Thurman declared the bill unconstitutional. But Morton, who led the Republican majority declared: "Shall Reconstruction be maintained; shall the constitutional amendments be upheld; shall the colored people be protected in their enjoyment of equal rights; shall the Republicans of the Southern States be protected in life, liberty, and property? — are the great issues to be settled in 1872."

Eleven years later the Supreme Court of the United States declared the act unconstitutional. The court

already in 1875 had declared unconstitutional the principal sections of the first Enforcement Act of May 31, 1870, "as involving the exercise by the United States of powers in excess of those granted by the Fifteenth Amendment."

In only one instance did Grant make use of the extraordinary powers given him by the Ku-Klux Act; and that was in the case of South Carolina, which he had particularly in mind when he wrote his message. Scott, the carpet-bag Governor, had applied for troops, declaring that combinations of armed men, unauthorized by law, were committing acts of violence in the State. On the 3d day of May Grant issued a proclamation declaring: "I will not hesitate to exhaust the powers thus vested in the Executive whenever and wherever it shall become necessary to do so for the purpose of securing to all citizens of the United States the peaceful enjoyment of the rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution and laws."

On October 17, 1871, he issued a proclamation suspending the writ of habeas corpus in nine counties named. Under these proclamations many persons were arrested and some were prosecuted and punished.

The measures taken had a speedy effect. According to the report of the Ku-Klux Investigating Com-

mittee there was an "apparent cessation" of Ku-Klux operations by February 19, 1872. Grant in his annual message of December 2, 1872, declared that he could not question "the necessity and salutary effect" of the enforcement acts, and in his second inaugural, March 4, 1873, he felt justified in saying: "The States lately at war with the general Government are now happily rehabilitated and no executive control is exercised in any one of them that would not be exercised in any other State under like circumstances."

To Grant's firmness in using the instruments of enforcement placed in his hands by Congress must be attributed in great measure this result. A weaker Executive would have dallied with the disturbances until they passed beyond control. He regretted the necessity, but it was his nature to enforce obedience to the law — a part of his day's work. In Grant's second Administration there were racial and political conflicts in Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina which necessitated the interposition of federal troops. That is an unhappy episode in American history, which in its proper place shall have a chapter to itself.

In bright contrast is the gradual extension of amnesty to former participants in rebellion. By special acts amnesty was extended to 3185 former Confed-

erates during the Forty-first Congress, which came to an end March 4, 1871, but many Southerners were too proudly sensitive to petition for a removal of their disabilities. General legislation was needed to obviate these special acts.

A magnanimous and lucid paragraph illuminates Grant's annual message of December 4, 1871: "More than six years having elapsed since the last hostile gun was fired between the armies then arrayed against each other — one for the perpetuation, the other for the destruction, of the Union — it may well be considered whether it is not now time that the disabilities imposed by the Fourteenth Amendment should be removed. That amendment does not exclude the ballot, but only imposes the disability to hold offices upon certain classes. When the purity of the ballot is secure, majorities are sure to elect officers reflecting the views of the majority. I do not see the advantage or propriety of excluding men from office merely because they were before the rebellion of standing and character sufficient to be elected to positions requiring them to take oaths to support the Constitution, and admitting to eligibility those entertaining precisely the same views but of less standing in their communities. It may be said that the former violated an oath, while the latter did not; the latter did not have it in their power to do so. If they had

taken this oath, it cannot be doubted they would have broken it as did the former class." But he added, with Jefferson Davis, Jacob Thompson, and perhaps others in mind: "If there are any great criminals, distinguished above all others for the part they took in opposition to the Government, they might, in the judgment of Congress, be excluded from such an amnesty."

A bill providing for general amnesty had passed the House. It would have passed the Senate had not Sumner insisted on his supplementary Civil Rights Bill as an amendment.

This Civil Rights Bill, which Sumner's biographer summarizes as prohibiting discriminations against colored people "by common carriers, by proprietors of theaters and inns, managers of schools, of cemeteries and of churches, or as to service as jurors in any courts, state or national," was peculiarly obnoxious to the Southern whites as an attempt to force upon them social equality with the negro, and it was equally offensive to Northern men who resented such an attempt by the National Government to interfere with perfectly natural social conditions within the States.

Its enactment would have done the negro a poor service; but this the devoted Sumner could not comprehend, and owing to his obduracy, in face of the

appeals of some of the negroes' best friends in Congress, the Amnesty Bill failed of passage. Finally in May, 1872, a bill for general amnesty passed the House unanimously, and after Sumner's civil rights amendment had been voted down, passed the Senate with equal celerity. This bill did not go so far as the bill which Sumner killed in the Senate. It left between three hundred and five hundred former Confederates still subject to political disabilities.

Sumner, who cast one of two negatives, said he could not vote for it "while the colored race are shut out from their rights and the ban of color is recognized in this chamber. Sir, the time has not come for amnesty. You must be just to the colored race before you are generous to former rebels."

Grant signed the bill on May 22, 1872. It removed the disabilities of all except Senators and Representatives of the Thirty-sixth and Thirty-seventh Congresses, officers in the judicial, military, and naval service of the United States, heads of departments and foreign ministers of the United States. But the disabilities of men of this excepted class were removed later as occasion required, and many of them rendered their reunited country unselfish and patriotic service.

CHAPTER XXXVII

CAUSES FOR PARTY DISAFFECTION

"He has sat by and seen the country tolerably well governed," said Samuel Bowles in the "Springfield Republican" in November, 1871. Bowles was good at epigram. He was a journalist of rare attainments, of fine ideals in politics, of vivid personality, with a suggestion of the iconoclast. He never hesitated to differ with contemporaries, even his closest friends. With most of them he took issue at the very beginning of Grant's Administration, when, two days after the precedent-smashing appointments to the Cabinet were made public, he wrote to Henry L. Dawes: "I like the Cabinet — you ought to like it because it is a revolution, because it breaks up rings, and makes reform more easy and possible"; and he may have been less surprised than others because a month earlier he had written: "My opinion is that Grant's Cabinet and the way it is made up will prove a bomb-shell, in especial congressional and political circles."

Plainly a change had come upon the vision of the Springfield seer. The change was typical of many of his kind, and it foreshadowed happenings which, while they had but little influence on Grant's career,

have had a share in fixing the repute of his Administration quite out of keeping with their bearing on the times. Though Bowles was not a bookish man, and gained his learning almost wholly from his daily contact with the world, absorbing information here and there as bees suck honey, he had the delicate sense of values with which all writers for the press should be endowed, combined with the fine fervor befitting one who had passed through the fires of a great moral conflict and a civil war, and thus had much in common with men like Adams, Godkin, Curtis, Schurz, and Sumner, who ranked him easily in scholarship, though not in high ideals. His taste was for the "literary fellers," whom Zachariah Chandler baptized with expletives when Lowell intruded on the patronage preserves by taking office as Minister to Spain. Men of his type idealized the finer qualities in Grant which marked heroic moments in his military career. Grant's quiet simplicity and reserve appealed to them, — his complete indifference to the fame which soldiers are supposed to crave.

"I am no great admirer of military heroes," wrote Motley to the Duchess of Argyle a few weeks after Appomattox, "but we needed one at this period, and we can never be too thankful that such a one was vouchsafed to us — one so vast and fertile in conception, so patient in waiting, so rapid in striking, had

come, and withal so destitute of personal ambition, so modest, so averse to public notoriety. The man on whom the gaze of both hemispheres has been steadily concentrated for two years seems ever shrinking from observation. All *his* admiration warmly expressed is for Sherman and Sheridan. So long as we can produce such a man as Grant our Republic is safe. . . . There is something very sublime to my imagination in the fact that *Grant has never yet set his foot in Richmond*, and perhaps never will." A rare tribute and merited; but how strangely in contrast with the vituperative lashings by Motley's friend Sumner, six years later.

And this from Holmes to Motley is characteristic of exchanges between friends in the Boston group: "He is one of the simplest, stillest men I ever saw. . . . Of all the considerable personages I have seen, he appears to me to be the least capable of an emotion of vanity. . . . Did he enjoy the being followed as he was by the multitude? 'It was very painful.' This answer is singularly characteristic of the man. . . . I cannot get over the impression he made on me. I have got something like it from women sometimes, hardly ever from men — that of entire loss of selfhood in a great aim, which made all the common influences which stir up other people as nothing to him."

Such was the figure Grant cut in scholarly imag-

inations while the halo of successful generalship was new upon him and before his garments had been soiled by contact with the slime of politics. Had he been endowed with a taste for things which men of culture fancy, or been much inclined to their companionship, he might well have retained their liking and support even though he had shattered their ideals and their fine faith in his political impeccability. They would have been more willing to charge to the requirements of the time unhappy incidents which offended them, and history would have been spared the sorry spectacle of personal quarrels and unjust attacks upon his motives and sincerity. The times were doubtless ripe for punishment, but not for such as that which men like Sumner, Godkin, Bowles, and Schurz meted out to Grant, chiefly because he lacked the social atmosphere to comprehend their point of view.

Even before he had been sworn in as President he displeased many who would have been ready with advice by quite neglecting to seek counsel or ask for help in writing his inaugural and picking out a cabinet. He was ingenuous as a child in politics, and before he was thrown against the nation's consciousness by the rush of war had hardly shown even the ordinary interest in public questions which is supposed to be the birthright of every true American.

His disagreeable encounter with the most unpleasant side of things in Johnson's Administration had emphasized his natural disinclination to fraternize with men trained in affairs. Before Appomattox he had known nothing of the ways of Washington except as he was made unpleasantly aware at times of bureaucratic interference with his military plans. He had never seen a legislative body in session, or visited a state capital, save to capture it, except when he was waiting at Springfield for a regiment.

His familiarity with literature hardly extended beyond his textbooks at West Point. He read novels sometimes for the story, never for the style. His library was limited to the books on the center table in the parlor and the what-not in the corner. He cared little about history, except as he helped to make it or learned it by attrition in the process.

He was indifferent to the literature even of his own trade. When he came home from the war Philadelphia and Washington presented him with houses; Boston thought to show its gratitude by giving him a library. Samuel Hooper undertook to find out quietly what military books he had so that duplicates might be avoided, and discovered to his astonishment that Grant had no military books whatever. His proficiency in war came to him through intuition, and his genius for adapting military principles to un-

foreseen emergencies and such capacity as he showed in public affairs came in the same way. "His statesmanship," says Boutwell, "had no other art or magic in it than what may be found in the relations of an honest country people."

The companions he liked and cultivated were not men who appealed to exquisite tastes. He had many more points of contact with the "generously good" George William Childs than with the scholarly George William Curtis, political essayist and reformer. He took advice from Zachariah Chandler, John A. Logan, and Roscoe Conkling more readily than from Charles Sumner, Carl Schurz, and Lyman Trumbull. He grouped Adam Badeau and John Lothrop Motley as historians of similar merit, and personally preferred Badeau, who says Grant once offered him Motley's place in London, a decoration which Badeau with commendable self-abnegation brushed aside.

Even with Fish, the ornament and pillar of his Administration, in whom he placed implicit confidence, and whom he favored as his own successor, there was so little intimacy that when years later the two were living near each other in New York, they hardly ever met.

Grant had not been in the White House a year before signs of party disaffection were discernible.

Sumner's break with the Administration over San Domingo was the first noticeable evidence of revolt against it, rendered all the more conspicuous because Grant took his defeat so much to heart, after displaying a pertinacity of method better fitted to the conduct of a desperate military campaign than to the delicate negotiation of a parliamentary controversy requiring strategy and compromise. Grant's personal visits to the Capitol, his pressure upon reluctant Senators, his persistent lobbying, his seeming lack of comprehension of the dignity of his high place, lowered him perceptibly in the estimation of men whose good opinion he should have been zealous to retain. The deposition of Sumner from his place at the head of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations offended men of culture and literary attainments everywhere; for while they might not sympathize with Sumner in his various perversities, he had come to be regarded as an institution, one of the few public men in Washington at that day who could be safely matched against the statesmen of England, France, and Germany, trained in the universities.

It was bad enough to have Sumner humiliated, but to have his mantle fall upon Simon Cameron, seemed to those who were not familiar with the Senate tradition determining committee rank by seniority a brutal and wanton affront. The recall of Motley

quickly followed, and that, too, was regarded by those who were not familiar with all the circumstances as a deliberate injustice to a diplomatist of learning and distinction. It was no salve to lacerated sensibilities when General Robert C. Schenck was named as his successor, an Ohio Congressman of moderate attainments, destined to earn some fame in London as promoter of the Emma Mine and author of a textbook on draw poker.

Grant's summary demand on June 15, 1870, for Judge Hoar's resignation as Attorney-General, and his appointment of the unknown Akerman to fill the vacancy, helped to intensify the feeling of distrust. It was not then generally known that Hoar was sacrificed because the Southern Senators whose votes Grant needed for his San Domingo Treaty insisted on his putting a Southerner at the head of the Department of Justice as the price of their support. It was known simply that one of the two members of the Cabinet whom the independents and reformers held in unreserved respect had been dismissed.

The other was Jacob D. Cox, of Ohio, who from their point of view had made a fine record as Secretary of the Interior, not only in honestly administering the affairs of his department, but in resisting the demands of patronage hunters in the Patent Office, the Census Bureau, and the Indian Office, in protect-

ing his clerks against political assessments and in his unswerving devotion to civil service reform. Within four months after Hoar's resignation, Cox also resigned, making way for Columbus Delano, of Ohio, a politician of no special reputation whose service was characterized by acts of questionable propriety. Cox is the chronicler of the circumstances both of Hoar's withdrawal and of his own. He was in frequent friction with Cameron and Chandler, political managers who insisted that the clerks in the departments should contribute a portion of their salaries to the party funds. Grant had said at the time of Hoar's resignation that "there was no man whom he loved more than Governor Cox"; but Chandler, Cameron, and the rest were a political necessity to him in Congress; and as between them and Cox there was no choice, Cox had to go.

Cox's letter of resignation, written on October 3, 1870, tells the story frankly, and concisely: "When Congress adjourned in the summer I was credibly informed that a somewhat systematic effort would be made before their reassembling in the winter to force a change in the policy we have pursued in the Interior Department. The removal of the Indian Service from the sphere of ordinary political patronage has been peculiarly distasteful to many influential gentlemen in both houses; and in order to enable

you to carry out your purposes successfully, I am satisfied that you ought not to be embarrassed by any other causes of irritation in the same department. My views of the necessity of reform in the civil service have brought me more or less into collision with the plans of our active political managers, and my sense of duty has obliged me to oppose some of their methods of action through the arrangement."

Hoar never had the satisfaction of thus recording the reasons for his resignation, but Cox has saved the story as Hoar told it at the time: "I was sitting in my office yesterday morning attending to routine business," Hoar said on the day the astonished Cox saw the newspaper announcement of the Attorney-General's resignation, "with no more thought of what was to come than you had at that moment, when a messenger entered with a letter from the President. Opening it I was amazed to read a naked statement that he found himself under the necessity of asking for my resignation. No explanation of any kind was given or reason assigned. The request was as curt and as direct as possible. My first thought was that the President had been imposed upon by some grave charge against me. A thunderclap could not have been more startling to me. I sat for a while wondering about it, what it could mean — why there had been no warning, no reference to the subject in

our almost daily conversations. The impulse was to go at once and ask the reasons for the demand; but self-respect would not permit this, and I said to myself that I must let the matter take its own course, and not even seem disturbed about it. I took up my pen to write the resignation and found myself naturally framing some of the conventional reasons for it, but I stopped and destroyed the sheet, saying to myself, 'Since no reasons are given or suggested for the demand it is hardly honest to invent them in reply'; so I made the resignation as simple and unvarnished as the request for it had been."

In spite of this unpleasant experience Hoar never wavered in his personal friendship for Grant and remained his stanch supporter to the end. Cox joined with Trumbull, Schurz, and Sumner in the Liberal Republican movement eighteen months later.

The substitution of Akerman and Delano for Hoar and Cox lowered still further in the estimation of the critics a Cabinet which had been generously denounced at its beginning. Robeson, the Secretary of the Navy, a man of brilliant qualities, was acquiring a newspaper reputation not altogether deserved for extravagance and favoritism in the administration of his department. W. W. Belknap, the Secretary of War, was laying the foundations for the scandals which later led to his resignation in the face of im-

peachment. The personnel of the Administration was held in light repute, especially with those who were far cleverer at writing history than at making it, though the ordinary citizen as shown in the election returns retained his confidence in Grant.

The White House was populous with military aides who performed the duties usually assigned to civilian secretaries, — General Horace Porter, an accomplished soldier with an aptitude for public service in which he afterwards gained high distinction; General Frederick Dent, the President's brother-in-law, companionable but useless; Babcock, likable, brilliant, and untrustworthy. Grant was fond of them all, and had faith in them, which in some cases was not wholly justified.

The moment Grant began to emerge from obscurity at the beginning of the war, he was beset by relatives for favors, and so long as he was President, he had his sisters, uncles, aunts, and cousins on his hands. His father was early at the game, as his correspondence shows. "Father also wrote about a Mr. Reed," Grant writes his sister from Cairo, in October, 1861. "He is now here, and will probably be able to secure a position. I do not want to be importuned for places. I have none to give and want to be placed under no obligation to any one. My influence, no doubt, would secure places with those

under me, but I become directly responsible for the suitableness of the appointee, and then there is no telling at what moment I may have to put my hand upon the very person who has conferred the favor, or the one recommended by me." This was Grant's military instinct in time of war, but when it came to the Presidency, with innumerable places at his hand and no civil service regulations to interfere with their free distribution, it was not so easy to resist the appeals of relatives who wanted office for themselves and for their friends.

He found his father postmaster at Covington, Kentucky, and kept him there. He made his brother-in-law Minister to Denmark. Upon other relatives of himself and of his wife he good-naturedly bestowed more or less lucrative positions, not many in the aggregate, but numerous enough to give color to the cry of "nepotism." Sumner, in his ridiculous harangue against Grant in the Senate on May 31, 1872, devoted an amazing amount of space to showing "how the presidential office has been used to advance his own family on a scale of nepotism dwarfing everything of the kind in our history and hardly equaled in the corrupt governments where this abuse has most prevailed. . . . One list makes the number of beneficiaries as many as forty-two — being probably every known person allied to the President either by

blood or marriage. Persons seeming to speak for the President, or at least after careful inquiries, have denied the accuracy of this list, reducing it to thirteen. It will not be questioned that there is at least a baker's dozen in this category — thirteen relations of the President billeted on the country, not one of whom but for this relationship would have been brought forward, the whole contributing a case of nepotism not unworthy of those worst governments where office is a family possession."

Truly an appalling picture of the peril to the republic embodied in consideration shown by a kindly disposed relative to old Jesse Grant, brother-in-law Cramer, and the other Grants and Dents.

Grant accepted without compunction gifts which were showered upon him by a grateful people after the close of the war. Houses in Philadelphia and Washington, articles of greater or less intrinsic value, for most of which he had no use, and many of which remained unopened in the White House basement so long as he remained in Washington. He saw no impropriety in taking presents even from those for whom he afterwards did favors, as sometimes happened. So straightforward was he in all his dealings that it never entered his own mind or the suspicions of those who knew him best that there was any improper connection between the favor and the gift, but traits

of this kind offered rare ammunition to those who needed it in a political campaign.

Grant was not fastidious in his friends. He picked them as he chose without regard to others' liking. When Rawlins died he lost the only man whose judgment about others had a deciding influence on his own. No one could fill the place which Rawlins left in his affection and respect, and Grant's associates became more miscellaneous after death robbed him of Rawlins at the very threshold of his term.

"What Grant needs," Charles Eliot Norton wrote to Curtis, ". . . is independent, sympathetic, intelligent, and trustworthy counselors. . . . He is easily influenced by what one may call *second-class ideas* if skilfully put before him; and his magnanimity, which was conspicuous during the war, degenerates into something not far from a vice in the peaceful regions of politics." [1] Norton here deftly caught a phase of Grant which few have seen; and yet there is no patent on his remedy. It takes no prescience for a stranger to discern a ruler's need of suitable advice. The counselor whom Norton had in mind was Curtis or some one else agreeable to both. But Grant had his own tastes and ways; he could not be made over. It is just possible that in the long run it was quite as well.

[1] *Letters of Charles Eliot Norton*, vol. I, p. 413.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

REFORMS — THE TARIFF; THE CIVIL SERVICE; THE INDIAN

It was open season for reformers; they were trying their luck at all sorts of abuses, real and imaginary. The protective tariff was a favorite shot, and "revenue reform" a popular cry — a recrudescence of the "free trade" policy which had prevailed since the beginning whenever Democrats were in control. But now it was not limited by party lines, for there were good Republicans who strongly urged revision of the Morrill Tariff enacted just before the outbreak of the Civil War. This sentiment was strong especially among Republicans in the Middle West, who had come to look upon the tariff as a scheme to benefit New England and Pennsylvania manufacturers. Men like Allison and Garfield, just rising into prominence in the House, urged a reduction in duties. Garfield, a student, was almost a free trader, an honorary member of the Cobden Club of England, but he was "practical" in his conception of the application of reform. "Whatever may be the personal or political consequences to myself," he told the House, "I shall try to act, first for the good of all and within

that limitation for the industrial interests of the district which I represent. . . . If I can prevent it I shall not submit to a considerable reduction of a few leading articles in which my constituents are deeply interested when many others of a similar character are left untouched or the rate on them increased."

The agitation resulted in the Tariff Act of 1870, in which after a hard struggle the friends of protection retained their advantage, the reduction in duties, counting both the free and dutiable list, averaging only about five per cent. The chief gain the reformers made was in reducing the duty on pig iron from $9 to $7 per ton. The battle raged around pig iron. Horace Greeley told Garfield that if he could he would make the duty one hundred dollars a ton, and all other duties in proportion. It was a time of general recrimination. The friends of protection then as now were charged with working for the "interests," while the attitude of the reformers was attributed to the malign influence of the Cobden Club and lavish expenditure of "British gold."

Grant made no boast of economic wisdom, but in his annual message of December, 1870, he said just enough to show that he had the tariff on his mind. It was the beginning of the short session of an expiring Congress and there could be no further legislation for at least a year. "Revenue reform has not been

defined by any of its advocates to my knowledge," he wrote with pertinent irony, "but seems to be accepted as something which is to supply every man's wants without any cost or effort on his part." His own opinion was that "with the revenue stamp dispensed by postmasters in every community, a tax upon liquors of all sorts, and tobacco in all its forms, and by a wise adjustment of the tariff, which will put a duty only upon those articles which we could dispense with, known as luxuries, and on those which we use more of than we produce, revenue enough may be raised after a few years of peace and consequent reduction of indebtedness to fulfill all our obligations. . . . Revenue reform, if it means this, has my hearty support. If it implies a collection of all the revenue for the support of the Government, for the payment of principal and interest of the public debt, pensions, etc., by directly taxing the people, then I am against revenue reform, and confidently believe the people are with me. If it means failure to provide the necessary means to defray all the expenses of government and thereby repudiation of the public debt and pensions, then I am still more opposed to such kind of revenue reform."

A year later at the beginning of the new Congress he again took up the question urging that the surplus be reduced "in such a manner as to afford the great-

est relief to the greatest number," and recommending the "free list" for many articles not produced at home "which enter largely into general consumption through articles which are manufactured at home from which little revenue is derived." Should a further reduction be advisable, he suggested "that it be made upon those articles which can best bear it without disturbing home production or reducing the wages of America's labor."

Two tariff bills were enacted by the new Congress; one which Grant signed on May 1, 1872, put tea and coffee on the free list, thus contributing to "the free breakfast table" extolled by Republican protectionists. The second, approved May 3, 1872, was a compromise. It lowered duties on a good many articles, among them salt, bituminous coal, tin, leather, manufactures of cotton, wool, iron, and steel, shaved the stamp taxes, and forgot to renew the friendless income tax. The act, like all tariff compromises, was a log-rolling affair. Samuel Bowles wrote one of his comforting letters to his dear friend Henry L. Dawes, who managed the bill in the House as chairman of the Ways and Means Committee: "You certainly have won a brilliant victory on the tariff. . . . It is not statesmanship and you know it. . . . There is a better way of making a tariff than by a combination or compromise of all the cotton mills and woolen mills

and sheep farmers and pin factories and coal mines of all the congressional districts of the land."

The times were shaping for revolt. So virulent were the attacks on Grant by men like Sumner, Schurz, and Godkin, that it was easy to forget what he had done for causes they had much at heart. They were so busy throwing remorseless lights on faults which now, when we look back on them, seem trifling, that they neglected merits better worth their while, and left unpraised his high accomplishments.

Who now remembers that Grant was first among our Presidents to emphasize the need of change in federal appointments so that they should be made for merit, not for pull? Yet he went farther on the road to a clean civil service than all his predecessors in the preceding forty years. Lincoln, like every other President since Jackson, had accepted the spoils system as a commonplace of government. Political considerations decided almost every case of office-filling from clerkships to the Cabinet. All through the war the trail of spoils was visible in military things. Butler and McClernand were not the only politicians whose epaulettes bore stars. That Lincoln's final break with Chase should be upon a piece of petty patronage was taken as an incident in course. When Sumner introduced a bill in 1864 establishing the merit system it was treated lightly by

his colleagues as one of Sumner's fads. Yet at the outset of his Administration Grant tackled this unprofitable question which others had ignored.

"Nor have we had from any President a single word of manly protest against this monstrous system," said George William Curtis, the accepted leader of the civil service reformers, before a group of men who thought with him in 1869, "until now President Grant says in words which in spirit are worthy to stand with those of Washington,' There has been no hesitation in changing officials in order to secure an efficient execution of the laws; sometimes, too, when in mere party view undesirable political results were likely to follow. Nor has there been any hesitation in sustaining efficient officials against remonstrances wholly political.' At last, thank God, we have got a President whom trading politicians did not elect, and who is no more afraid of them than he was of rebels, and these manly and simple words are as full of cheerful promise as the bulletins of his advance upon Vicksburg."

But such exuberance of eulogy was not to be maintained, though in his second annual message Grant denounced the spoils system as "an abuse of long standing" which he would like to see remedied at once. He would have the merit system cover not only the tenure but the manner of making all ap-

pointments. "There is no duty which so much embarrasses the Executive and heads of departments as that of appointments. Nor is there any such arduous and thankless labor imposed on Senators and Representatives as that of finding places for constituents. The present system does not secure the best men and often not even fit men for public place. The elevation and purification of the civil service of the Government will be hailed with approval by the whole people of the United States." Here was a new note in executive communications. A few weeks later he signed the first Civil Service Reform Bill ever passed by Congress, providing for a commission to establish regulations to ascertain the fitness of candidates for office; and he named Curtis as its chairman.

At the very beginning of the next session, in December, 1871, he urged on Congress in a special message appropriations to perpetuate the Commission. "If left to me without further congressional action the rules . . . will be faithfully executed; but they are not binding without further legislation upon my successor. . . . I ask for all the strength which Congress can give me to enable me to carry out the reforms in the civil service recommended by the Commission."

Congress, wedded to the spoils system, soon cut off the appropriation altogether. Ardent reformers

blamed Grant for not doing more, but it would have taken all Grant's influence to force on Congress the merit system as a permanent policy at that time, and he had none to spare. Few Senators or Representatives had any use for it. The strongest of them, like Morton, Chandler, Conkling, Carpenter, and Cameron, held it in contempt; most people did not care. It was the favorite issue of a group of scholarly men, of high ideals, but neither numerous nor potential then or for years thereafter. It was greatly to Grant's credit that he went so far along the path they led, yet he was subject to attack because he did not force the unattainable. Had he urged a civil service propaganda in and out of season and made "reform" the cry of his Administration, he would no doubt have held the adoration of essayists and historians, and faults which they have emphasized might then have been excused. But the time was far from ripe for these new-fangled civil service methods and he had infinitely greater problems pressingly in hand — the maintenance of our prestige abroad, the safeguarding of American lives and property on foreign soil, the rigid execution of the law at home, the firm establishment of public credit. Reform might wait upon the growth of public sentiment and the dissemination of right ideas, but these fundamental things involving the perpetuity of gov-

ernment itself must be attended to at once or not at all. All others must be made subordinate to them.

Thus it came about that, after a few years of trial with an unpaid board, he found it useless to keep up the fight alone, and in his message of December, 1874, acknowledging the obvious, he frankly announced to Congress that, if adjournment came without positive legislation in support of civil service reform, "I will regard such action as a disapproval of the system and will abandon it except so far as to require examinations for certain appointees to determine their fitness. Competitive examinations will be abandoned." He could not let the opportunity go by without a dig at a too common trait of advocates of the merit system then and since: "Generally," he said, "the support which this reform receives is from those who give it their support only to find fault when the rules are apparently departed from." On the whole he thought the rules had been beneficial and had tended to the elevation of the service. "The gentlemen who have given their services without compensation as members of the board to devise rules and regulations for the government of the civil service of the country have shown much zeal and earnestness in their work, and to them as well as to myself it will be a source of

mortification if it is to be thrown away. But I repeat that it is impossible to carry this system to a successful issue without general approval and assistance and positive law to support it."

In all the circumstances this was common sense, and Curtis recognized it later when he said: "A President who should alone undertake to reform the evil must feel it to be the vital and permanent issue and must be willing to hazard everything for its success. He must have the absolute faith and the indomitable will of Luther, 'Here stand I; I can no other.' . . . General Grant, elected by a spontaneous patriotic impulse, fresh from the regulated order of military life, and new to politics and politicians, saw the reason and the necessity of reform. . . . Congress, good-naturedly tolerating what it considered his whim of inexperience, granted money to try an experiment. The adverse pressure was tremendous. 'I am used to pressure,' smiled the soldier. So he was, but not to this pressure. He was driven by unknown and incalculable currents. He was enveloped in whirlwinds of sophistry, scorn, and incredulity. He who upon his own line had fought it out all summer to victory, upon a line absolutely new and unknown was naturally bewildered and dismayed. . . . It was indeed a surrender, but it was the surrender of a champion who had honestly mistaken both the

nature and the strength of the adversary and his own power of endurance."

Grant did not then receive the credit as a pioneer which history must assign him. He had no gift for advertising his own wares, and he was so lacking in a politician's artifice that in the eyes of critics some of his very merits wore the guise of faults. In this as in too many other things he was the victim of his honesty.

Grant's interest in the Indians dates from his life in the Far West, when as a young army officer he saw with what injustice they were treated by the whites. George W. Childs says that he "then made up his mind if he ever had any influence or power it should be exercised to try to ameliorate their condition." He was as good as his word. Brief as was his first inaugural, it was long enough to contain a reference to "the proper treatment of the original occupants of this land," as deserving careful study. "I will favor any course toward them which tends to their civilization and ultimate citizenship." He appointed an Indian Commission headed by William Welsh, of Philadelphia, a strong, generous friend of the Indians, and composed largely of leading members of the Society of Friends, which he pointed out in his annual message of December, 1869, "is well known as having succeeded in living in peace with the Indians

in the early settlement of Pennsylvania while their white neighbors of other sects in other sections were constantly embroiled." He adopted the novel policy of giving all the agencies to such religious denominations as had established missionaries among the Indians, the societies selecting their own agents subject to the approval of the Executive. In his second annual message, he wrote: "I entertain the confident hope that the policy now pursued will in a few years bring all the Indians upon reservations where they will live in houses and have schoolhouses and churches and will be pursuing peaceful and self-sustaining avocations and where they may be visited by the law-abiding white man with the same impunity that he now visits the civilized white settlements." Here we have the first serious attempt at a humanitarian treatment of the Indian by the Government — the germ of whatever benefit has come to him as the nation's ward. Yet Grant was duly censured because an Indian ring infested the Interior Department as had been the case before his day and has been ever since.

"The most troublesome men in public life," said Grant a few years later, "are those over-righteous people who see no motives in other people's actions but evil motives, who believe all public life is corrupt, and nothing is well done unless they do it

themselves. They are narrow-headed men, their two eyes so close together that they can look out of the same gimlet-hole without winking." Fish in his "Diary" tells how during the San Domingo controversy Grant remarked: "It is strange that men cannot allow others to differ with them, without charging corruption as the cause of difference. . . . There is little inducement other than a sense of duty in holding public position in this country — but for that I do not know what there is to induce a man to take either the place I hold, or one in the Cabinet, and were it not for that I would resign immediately." Remarks which help us better to understand the loyalty with which he stood behind those men in his Administration who were most violently assailed.

CHAPTER XXXIX

THE GREELEY EPISODE

Among the public men of the Reconstruction period Carl Schurz had a place peculiarly his own. Never a force of much constructive influence he was for years a striking figure, an irrepressible critic, an apostle of unrest, who though not popular himself had popular repute. A Prussian by birth, a revolutionist and refugee of 1848, he came to comprehend the theory of American institutions as few Americans have comprehended it, yet in the very atmosphere of liberty he remained a revolutionist and dissenter to the end. He never became completely Americanized or localized. He lacked the "homing instinct." After leaving his native country, he lived successively in Switzerland, France, and England, and coming to the United States in 1852 he fluttered over Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Missouri, before finally alighting in New York. He never remained long with any political group or respected party fealty.

Minister to Spain at the beginning of the war and afterwards a brigadier-general of volunteers, he was unsparing in censure of his military and civilian superiors. His admonitions at a trying moment in the

darkest days of the struggle elicited from the long-suffering Lincoln a caustic rebuke which has become an epistolary classic.[1]

As an editor in Missouri directly after the war, Schurz supported radical Reconstruction measures. As Johnson's messenger to the South in 1865, he made a report which was used by radical leaders in Congress against Johnson's policies. He was elected a Republican Senator in 1869; yet he was hardly in his seat before he broke with Grant, joining Sumner in opposition to the San Domingo Treaty. He voted for all except the last of the enforcement acts, which he held to be unconstitutional, and had the satisfaction years later of seeing the Supreme Court declare

[1] "I have just received and read your letter of the 26th. The purport of it is that we lost the last elections and the Administration is failing because the war is unsuccessful, and that I must not flatter myself that I am not justly to blame for it. I certainly know that if the war fails, the Administration fails, and that I will be blamed for it, whether I deserve it or not. And I ought to be blamed if I could do better. You think I could do better; therefore you blame me already. I think I could not do better, therefore I blame you for blaming me. I understand you now to be willing to accept the help of men who are not Republicans, provided they have 'heart in it.' Agreed. I want no others. But who is to be the judge of hearts or of 'heart in it'? If I must discard my own judgment and take yours, I must also take that of others; and by the time I should reject all I should be advised to reject, I should have none left, Republicans or others — not even yourself. For be assured, my dear sir, there are men who 'have heart in it' that think you are performing your part as poorly as you think I am performing mine." (Letter to Carl Schurz, November 24, 1862. *Lincoln's Complete Works*, vol. II, p. 257.)

unconstitutional acts for which he voted as well as that to which he was opposed. He was a lucid and logical writer, a master of English style, a speaker of unusual ability when thoroughly prepared, a critic, a musician, a man of culture who in another country might have played a large part in Government, but whose talents were ineffective here because of his insatiate appetite for opposition amounting to a passion for minorities.

Schurz more than any other single individual was responsible for the Liberal Republican movement of 1872. It was at his instigation that the call was issued for the national convention which nominated Greeley in Cincinnati. Dissent in Missouri depended on conditions peculiar to the State, just as dissent in Illinois, New York, Massachusetts, and other places was determined largely by local conditions in every case. But it happened that Missouri furnished the earliest opportunity for organized protest against Administration tendencies. On a question of local interest — the reënfranchisement of Southern sympathizers — Republican dissenters nominated for Governor B. Gratz Brown, and he was elected by a combination with the Democrats, thus turning the State over to Democratic control. Frank P. Blair had already been chosen Senator.

There was nothing national in the issue of reën-

franchisement, for Grant had urged a general amnesty, and Congress was on the point of granting it, but Schurz had become an advocate of tariff reform, and that was made a plank in his new party platform. Greeley, in the "New York Tribune," characterized the Missouri Liberals as bolters. Schurz, perceiving signs of discontent in other States as the time for electing a new President approached, convened his new party at Jefferson City on January 24, 1872. The name of "Liberal Republicans" was assumed and a call was issued to all Republicans opposing the Administration and favoring reform to meet in Cincinnati on the first Wednesday in May.

There was plenty of material at hand for such a gathering, although there was no common bond of sympathy except dissatisfaction with Grant and his Administration. In New York there was a factional quarrel. The two United States Senators were in fighting mood. Reuben E. Fenton, a crafty political manipulator, had been the leader of the State while Governor from 1865 to 1869, but Conkling had gained ascendancy with the Administration in Washington. Greeley, always afflicted with the itch for office, was Fenton's candidate for Governor in 1870, but was beaten in convention. In the convention of 1871 there was a titanic struggle for supremacy, and Conkling, taking command in person of his forces

on the floor, had driven the friends of Greeley and Fenton out, and assumed full control of the party organization.

Greeley had long been querulous about the National Administration. Both he and Fenton now attributed their defeat to Conkling's use of federal patronage and to Grant's support. They thus were ripe for the revolt which had been shaping in the West. It was hard for Greeley, the most vociferous advocate of high protection in the United States, to swallow the Missouri Liberals' declaration for "a genuine reform of the tariff," but let that question be laid aside, he intimated in the "Tribune," "and we will go to Cincinnati." In due season he signed the response of Eastern Republicans to the Missouri invitation, but outside their own State the New York men in the convention found few except free traders.

The Cincinnati gathering did not consist of delegates regularly chosen; but any person of Republican antecedents was permitted to participate. No such collection of curiously assorted men ever before or since has undertaken to organize a political party. The Liberal Republican movement, in so far as it embodied a real passion for reform, was peculiarly the product of writers for the press.

Schurz was an editor and pamphleteer by preference, and with him in the instigation of revolt were

Samuel Bowles, of the "Springfield Republican," Murat Halstead, of the "Cincinnati Commercial," Joseph Medill, Horace White, of the "Chicago Tribune," Alexander K. McClure, of the "Philadelphia Times," E. L. Godkin, of the "Nation," and William Cullen Bryant, of the "New York Evening Post." On some things they were agreed, on others they were wide apart. The movement at its inception was under the guidance of writers, theorists, dissenters, and doctrinaires, most of whom had done a vast amount of thinking about how the Government ought to be run, but few of whom had ever really tried their hand at helping run it. Almost without exception in the beginning they were men of fine ideals, but as the organization took shape, it drew in the customary quota of disappointed and discredited politicians.

There were a few men with both real political experience and high principles like John M. Palmer and Lyman Trumbull, of Illinois, Stanley Matthews, George Hoadley, and Jacob D. Cox, of Ohio, Austin Blair, the War Governor of Michigan. Finally there were men like David A. Wells, Theodore Tilton, Edward Atkinson, Frank W. Bird, and General William F. Bartlett, some of them faddists, none of them with experience in elective office. Sumner, David Davis, and Charles Francis Adams were among the later

acquisitions. The germinating force was in the editorial rooms of the "Chicago Tribune," the "Springfield Republican," the "Cincinnati Commercial," the "Nation," the "New York Evening Post," the "New York Tribune," and the "Louisville Courier-Journal," this last a Democratic paper rich in the fulminations of Henry Watterson. Some of these were less intense in their allegiance at the beginning than others, but all in time joined in the cry against Grant, though most of them were sorely disappointed in the work of their convention.

Had they realized it they were doomed to failure from the start, for they were lacking, not only in the sagacity of the professional politician, but in the impulse of an absorbing moral issue. Perhaps their greatest lack was in a vivid personality to embody their conception of reform. It is strange that observant newspaper editors could have imagined a successful campaign against a party entrenched in power, under such leadership as that to which they were confined, — Charles Francis Adams, Lyman Trumbull, David Davis, Horace Greeley, — all men without organized political or personal following and none except Davis with practical political sense.

"The office-seeking fraternity," says Horace White, "were mostly supporters of Davis, whose appearance as a candidate for the Presidency was

extremely offensive to the original promoters of the movement. As a judge of the Supreme Court his incursion into the field of politics, unheralded, but not unprecedented, was an indecorum. Moreover, his supporters had not been early movers in the ranks of reform. . . . Davis's chances were early demolished by the editorial fraternity, who, at a dinner at Murat Halstead's house, resolved that they would not support him if nominated, and caused that fact to be made known. Greeley's candidacy had not been taken seriously by the editors at Halstead's dinner-party. . . . Adams and Trumbull were the only men supposed by us to be within the sphere of nomination, and the chances of Adams were deemed the better of the two. We had yet to learn that there are occasions and crowds where personal oddity and a flash of genius under an old white hat are more potent than high ancestry or approved statesmanship, or both those qualifications joined together." [1]

The austere Adams at least was wise enough to recognize his own defects as a candidate. "If I am to be negotiated for and have assurances given that I am honest, you will be so kind as to draw me out of that crowd," he wrote to David A. Wells as he was sailing for Europe to attend the Court of Geneva

[1] *Life of Lyman Trumbull*, pp. 380–81.

Arbitration, a fortnight before the convention. . . . "I never had a moment's belief that when it came to the point, any one so entirely isolated as I am from all political associations of any kind could be made acceptable as a candidate for public office; but I am so unlucky as to value that independence more highly than the elevation which is brought by a sacrifice of it. . . . If the good people who meet at Cincinnati really believe that they need such an anomalous being as I am (which I do not), they must express it in a manner to convince me of it, or all their labor will be thrown away."

Impossible material for a successful candidate for votes, yet such was the idealistic and impractical character of the disinterested devotees of the new cult that the optimistic Bowles made this deadly letter public in the innocent belief that it would bring about the writer's nomination and election.

Not only did Greeley capture the nomination, but he kept out of the platform any endorsement of tariff reform, the one live issue outside Grant's personality upon which the promoters of the convention came nearest to being united. He was the most irreconcilable protectionist in the United States; he was far less friendly than Grant to civil service reform, and had been profanely emphatic in expressing his contempt for the merit test. It was a cruel

awakening for the protagonists of revolt, many of them scholars loyal to the universities, who with wry faces found themselves straggling behind the fantastic banner of the most trenchant opponent of the theories they had most at heart, and marveling at their complaisance as they recalled the pungent prayer with which tradition says he used to enliven the youthful meditations of aspiring writers for the "Tribune," "Of all horned cattle, God deliver me from the college graduate!"

Stanley Matthews, the temporary chairman, went back to Grant as soon as possible, writing to a friend: "I am greatly chagrined at the whole matter, my own participation in it included, and have concluded . . . that as a politician and a President-maker I am not a success." William Cullen Bryant wrote to Trumbull: "We who know Mr. Greeley know that his administration, should he be elected, cannot be otherwise than shamefully corrupt. . . . There is no abuse or extravagance into which that man through the infirmity of his judgment may not be betrayed. It is wonderful how little in some of his vagaries the scruples which would influence other men of no exemplary integrity restrain him." Trumbull could think of no better reason for supporting him than that he was "an honest but confiding man" who with proper surroundings "would be an improvement on what we have."

"The wiser heads in the convention were stunned," wrote Horace White. "Of all the things which could possibly happen, this was the one thing which everybody supposed could not happen." Carl Schurz, chagrined at the result, wrote Greeley inviting him to withdraw, presenting all the discouraging features, "and now if the developments of the campaign should be such as to disappoint your hopes, it shall not be my fault if you are deceived about the real state of things." Yet Schurz would support Greeley "in a modified and guarded manner." So satisfied was he of "the necessity of defeating Grant and dissolving party organization" that he was all ready to use any instrument for the purpose, looking forward "with a hopefulness bordering on enthusiasm to the good things which will grow out of the confusion following on Greeley's election" — an opportunist view which Godkin could not accept, glad as he should be to join Schurz in supporting Greeley, "Schurz being the one man in American politics who inspires Godkin with some hope concerning them." Parke Godwin was even more bitter: "The man is a charlatan from top to bottom, and the smallest kind of a charlatan, from no other motive than a weak and puerile vanity. His success in politics would be the success of whoever is most wrong in theory and most corrupt in practice. . . . Grant and his crew are bad

— but hardly so bad as Greeley and his would be." The country surely was in sorry straits when those who had constituted themselves its only hope were limited to such alternatives.

The free traders in New York held a mass meeting at Steinway Hall, invited to a conference those who favored a less rigid protective policy than Greeley's, and nominated William S. Groesbeck for President. The invitation was signed by Carl Schurz, permanent chairman of the Cincinnati Convention, J. D. Cox, W. C. Bryant, D. A. Wells, Oswald Ottendorfer, and Jacob Brinkerhoff — dissenters from dissent, who in due time came back to Greeley after the Democrats at Baltimore had endorsed the Cincinnati ticket.

An "Address to the People of the United States" was issued at Cincinnati to launch the platform of principles. It was an undiluted denunciation of Grant: "The President of the United States has openly used the powers and opportunities of his high office for the promotion of personal ends. He has kept notoriously corrupt and unworthy men in places of power and responsibilities to the detriment of the public interest. He has used the public service of the Government as machinery of corruption and personal influence and has interfered with tyrannical arrogance in the public affairs of States and municipalities. He has rewarded with influential and lucra-

tive offices men who had acquired his favor by valuable presents, thus stimulating the demoralization of our political life by his conspicuous example. He has shown himself deplorably unequal to the task imposed upon him by the necessities of the country and culpably careless of the responsibilities of his high office." His partisans were denounced for standing "in the way of necessary investigations and indispensable reforms"; for keeping alive "the passions and resentments of the late Civil War . . . instead of appealing to the better instincts and latent patriotism of the Southern people"; for "base sycophancy to the dispenser of executive power and patronage, unworthy of republican freemen."

Following this denunciatory address the platform reads tamely. It demanded the "immediate and absolute removal of all disabilities imposed on account of the rebellion"; "local self-government with impartial suffrage"; "the supremacy of the civil over the military authority"; the protection of the habeas corpus; "a thorough reform of the civil service," to which end "it is imperatively required that no President shall be a candidate for reëlection"; the maintenance of the public credit; a speedy return to specie payments; and an end "to further grants of land to railroads or other corporations."

The extraordinary plank in this reform platform

was the obvious straddle in regard to the tariff: "Recognizing that there are in our midst honest but irreconcilable differences of opinion with regard to the respective systems of protection and free trade, we remit the discussion of the subject to the people in their congressional districts and the decision of Congress thereon, wholly free from executive interference or dictation."

This was an admirable declaration of principles. It would have been more impressive had it not been that some of its most commendable paragraphs were duplicated in the Republican platform adopted at Philadelphia on June 5 and 6, when Grant was renominated with great enthusiasm, and by acclamation. The Republicans favored a reform of the civil service system "by laws which shall abolish the evils of patronage and make honesty, efficiency, and fidelity the essential qualifications for public positions without practically creating a life-tenure of office." They opposed "further grants of the public lands to corporations and monopolies"; declared that revenue, "except so much as may be derived from a tax upon tobacco and liquors, should be raised by duties upon importations, the details of which should be so adjusted as to aid in securing remunerative wages to labor and promote the industries, prosperity, and growth of the whole country."

His own party at Philadelphia was so thoroughly united behind Grant that the only suggestion of division was in the nomination for Vice-President. Colfax would doubtless have been named again had he not once withdrawn and then changed his mind after Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, had been brought forward as a candidate. While Speaker of the House in Johnson's time and for a while Vice-President with Grant, he had stood well in general esteem, but of late he had incurred the distrust of the representative newspaper correspondents at Washington, a body as quick then as their successors now in detecting false notes in our public men. Their efforts more than any other one thing gave Wilson the nomination; a choice of special significance because Wilson's colleague, Sumner, only a few days before, in the speech of May 31, had portrayed Grant in riotous violence of color as a military usurper debauching his office with an unholy zest which any Roman Emperor might have envied him. The Democrats at Baltimore, on July 9, endorsed Greeley, thus completing an incongruous picture; for they could not have picked another man so radically at odds with every political theory which they held. His only point of sympathy with either convention was discontent with Grant — no unusual attitude with him; for he had been an unsparing critic of every Presi-

dent for thirty years, no matter whether his own party or the opposition happened to be in power.

Greeley really never had a chance of election from the day he was nominated, but so eager was the campaign against Grant that for a time some even of the most sagacious of the seasoned political observers were in doubt. Sumner's assault of May 31 furnished a text for hardened orators and writers of the opposition.

"Not only are Constitution and law disregarded," cried Sumner, "but the presidential office itself is treated as little more than a plaything and a perquisite — when not the former, then the latter. Here the details are ample; showing how from the beginning this exalted trust has dropped to be a personal indulgence, where palace cars, fast horses, and seaside loiterings figure more than duties; how personal aims and objects have been more prominent than the public interests; . . . how in the same spirit office has been conferred upon those from whom he had received gifts or benefits, thus making the country repay his personal obligations; how personal devotion to himself rather than public or party service has been made the standard of favor; how the vast appointing power conferred by the Constitution for the general welfare has been employed at his will to promote his schemes, to reward his friends, to

punish his opponents, and to advance his election to a second term; how all these assumptions have matured in a personal government, semi-military in character and breathing the military spirit, being a species of Cæsarism or *personalism*, abhorrent to republican institutions, where subservience to the President is the supreme law.

". . . I protest against him as radically unfit for the presidential office, being essentially military in nature, without experience in civil life, without aptitude for civil duties, and without knowledge of republican institutions."

Thus "Cæsarism" became the cry against the most diffident and unassuming soldier of his generation, one who signalized his first night at the White House by dispensing with the squad of soldiers detailed there as a night guard and ordering away from Washington all the troops on duty there at the time of his inauguration. "I was trying last night," said Matthew H. Carpenter replying to Sumner's tirade, "to recall a single instance if in conversation in regard to the late war I had heard General Grant allude to himself, and I could not. I have heard him speak in the most glowing terms of his comrades in arms. I have heard him speak of the exploits of Sherman. I have heard him allude to what was done by Logan, McPherson, and many other officers of

the Union army. I never heard him say, speaking of a battle, 'at such a juncture I thought I would do so and so,' or, 'I ordered a battalion this way or that,' or, 'I turned the scale by such a maneuver.' I never heard him allude to himself in connection with the war. I believe you might go to the White House and live with him and converse about the war day after day, and you never would know from anything he said that he was in the war at all."

Such is the uniform testimony of those who knew him best. It is true that his companionships were not all over-nice; that instead of spending his summers in Washington he spent them at the seashore, as has been the habit of almost every President since his day; that he liked to drive fast horses as when a boy on his father's place; that he accepted presents indiscriminately as a thing of course; that he had relatives in the public service; but if these were faults deserving censure, they were faults of judgment, not of malign intent, and history will weigh them lightly.

Grant was keenly sensitive to the attacks upon him, but he never had the slightest doubt of his success, though the most experienced political observers had their blue days. George W. Childs tells how during the campaign Wilson, who had just made a tour of the country, came to his house in Philadelphia greatly depressed. "I went to see General

Grant and I told him about this feeling particularly as coming from Senator Wilson. The General said nothing, but he sent for a map of the United States. He laid the map down on the table and went over it with a pencil and said, 'We will carry this State, that State, and that State; until he nearly covered the whole United States. It occurred to me he might as well put them all in." He wrote to Washburne in August that even if Greeley remained in the field till November, he would not carry a single Northern State.

His foresight was justified. The only States Greeley carried were Maryland, Georgia, Missouri, and Kentucky. Grant received 286 electoral votes out of 349. His popular vote was 3,597,132, an increase over his vote in 1868 of 484,299.

It was a cruel thing for Greeley. He who had rioted all his life in searing Presidents and candidates cringed now when he felt his own soul pressed against the iron. The Scriptural admonition, that he who lives by the sword shall perish by the sword, was never more convincingly exemplified. "I was the worst beaten man who ever ran for high office," he wrote Colonel Tappan, "and I have been assailed so bitterly that I hardly knew whether I was running for President or the Penitentiary. In the darkest hour my suffering wife left me, none too soon, for she

had suffered too deeply and too long. I laid her in the ground with hard, dry eyes. Well, I am used up; I cannot see before me. I have slept little for weeks, and my eyes are still hard to close, while they soon open again." Before the Electoral College met he died broken in heart and mind.

But Grant's great personal triumph had its taste of wormwood too; for he had been through slander and vituperation such as seldom comes to public men. How it had eaten into him became plain to his countrymen a few months later when they read the closing words of his second inaugural: —

"I did not ask for place or position, and was entirely without influence or the acquaintance of persons of influence, but was resolved to perform my part in a struggle threatening the very existence of the nation. I performed a conscientious duty, without asking promotion or command, and without a revengeful feeling toward any section or individual.

"Notwithstanding this, throughout the war, and from my candidacy for my present office in 1868 to the close of the last presidential campaign, I have been the subject of abuse and slander scarcely ever equaled in political history, which to-day I feel that I can afford to disregard in view of your verdict, which I gratefully accept as my vindication."

CHAPTER XL

CRÉDIT MOBILIER — THE BACK PAY GRAB — THE SANBORN CONTRACTS

As we look back upon Grant's early years as President, we see that he was criticized more for the manner than the matter of his deeds. The result in 1872 showed clearly that the conservative forces of the country retained their faith in him. While Greeley had great crowds to hear him speak, — so great as for a time to frighten old Republican campaigners, — the outcome demonstrated that they were drawn by curiosity to see and hear a man who had been writing to them many years. The "sober second thought" which he invoked brought voters to the polls for his opponent. He was himself submerged in the great "tidal wave" on which his visionary helpers set such store. Grant won because, however much his methods might be questioned, men felt that in the fundamental qualities then needed he was sound. He had sustained the country's credit in finance, had greatly added to America's prestige abroad, and had shown firmness in the execution of the laws both North and South, a trait which led strong men of all political complexions to believe in

him. He had been guilty of two faults which fairly merited reproof. One was a weakness for unworthy friends, on whom he showered responsible positions without regard to their experience or capacity and who too often played on his good faith in furthering their aims; the other was the practice, which he carried to a greater length than any of his predecessors, of interfering with congressional affairs. Of these faults the first was personal to him and transitory; the other, in the hands of a more crafty President, might well become an evil packed with peril; for the growing ease with which our recent Presidents usurp the functions of the legislative branch threatens the very fundamentals of our Government. There could be no handier tool for one who had designs upon our liberties than a subservient Congress. With Grant the tendency was less alarming than it might be with others, more artful in the ways of politics; for Grant was not a demagogue; he never dreamed of such a thing as playing with his office for popular applause to hold himself in power. He acted always with a definite and patriotic aim, though often erring through his unfamiliarity with the machinery of civil government. He drove straight at his goal without regard to legal technicalities, and cut across lots with sublime indifference to signs forbidding trespass.

While he was gratefully accepting the verdict

of the country on his first Administration, freshly gathered clouds were hanging over him. The Congress just then coming to an end was to be notable in its disclosure of two scandals — the Crédit Mobilier and the "Back Pay Steal," in one of which its only office was to mete out justice, though both besmirched the party in control, in spite of evidence that Democrats should share responsibility for whatever guilt there was. Both were symbolic of the temper of the hour, and symptomatic of conditions by no means limited to Washington. "My own public life has been a very brief and insignificant one," said George F. Hoar about that time, "extending little beyond the duration of a single term of senatorial office; but in that brief period I have seen five judges of a high court of the United States driven from office by threats of impeachment for corruption or maladministration. I have heard the taunt, from friendliest lips, that when the United States presented herself in the East to take part with the civilized world in generous competition in the arts of life, the only product of her institutions in which she surpassed all others without question was her corruption. I have seen, . . . the political administration of her chief city become a disgrace and a byword throughout the world. . . . When the greatest railroad of the world, binding together the continent and uniting the two

great seas, was finished, I have seen our national triumph and exultation turned to bitterness and shame. . . . I have heard in highest places the shameless doctrine avowed by men grown old in public office that the true way by which power should be gained in the Republic is to bribe the people with offices created for their service."

Thus marshaled, it presents a sorry record; but it would be absurd to charge it up to Grant or his Administration. The period just following the war was one of rude upheaval and of shattered standards. It cannot fairly be compared with more quiescent times. It was Grant's fortune to have fallen on it. Another in his place would hardly have done better; a weaker President might have been overwhelmed.

And in spite of Hoar it would be hard to name a country with equal opportunities where corruption was then less prevalent than in our own. The scandals of the day emblazoned by political assault were uncouth in comparison with finer faults in less distorted times, but they had precedents in earlier administrations and have been rivaled since. With all his classic phrase and fine ideals Hoar often was the victim of his own hyperbole. Like Sumner he was a dogmatic partisan even in a noble cause, and those who knew him best were well aware that in his eyes

the things he greatly disapproved were monstrous, while "all his geese were swans."

In the midst of the campaign the "New York Sun" had sprung a charge of bribery in connection with the construction of the Union Pacific Railroad, for which Oakes Ames, a Congressman from Massachusetts, a forceful and far-seeing business man, had been responsible. It was asserted that Ames had distributed among influential Congressmen and Senators shares of stock in the Crédit Mobilier. This was a Pennsylvania company, the unused franchise of which had been acquired by the managers of the Union Pacific, that they might thus secure the contract for the building of the road. The device which Ames and his associates adopted was an ingenious adaptation of methods then prevailing in the construction of private lines.

It was not feasible at that time to secure subscriptions to the authorized capital stock in cash as was required by the statutes and as might have been done later. If Ames had not come forward with his credit, the enterprise would probably have fallen through; and the "spanning of the continent" would have been delayed for years. But through the aid of the Crédit Mobilier, the stockholders in which were almost identical with the stockholders in the Union Pacific, the road was opened in 1869. Whatever the

benefits, this was an evasion of the law providing that the stock should be paid for in full in money, when as a fact it went to men "who paid for it at not more than thirty cents on the dollar in road-making." From the viewpoint of Ames the arrangement with the Crédit Mobilier was wise and necessary as well as profitable, for otherwise the work could not have been done. At the time when it was undertaken in 1865–66, he did not dare ask Congress to amend the charter, lest in the crush of Reconstruction legislation, permission would be indefinitely delayed.

Ames had been a member of the House since 1863, and from that vantage had watched the interests of the road. Washburne, of Illinois, "the watch-dog of the Treasury," had shown intermittent symptoms of demanding an investigation of the road's affairs. Ames wanted nothing further in the way of legislation, but he cannily conceived that friendliness among the leading men in Congress might be a handy asset. At his suggestion, in the fall of 1867, three hundred and forty-three shares of the Crédit Mobilier were transferred to him as trustee. "I shall put these," he wrote to an associate, "where they will do the most good to us. I am here on the spot and can better judge where they should go." Whereupon he entered into contracts with leading Senators and

Representatives to sell them stock at par with interest from the first day of the previous July. One hundred and sixty shares were thus contracted for. Large dividends were already due upon the stock and it was worth no less than double par. Some bought their shares outright, while Ames agreed to carry others.

This was the ground of charges exploited in the closing days of the campaign. The names of Senators and Representatives were given, based on a list made out by Ames before the distribution of the stock and disclosed that summer in a suit before a Pennsylvania court. They were a score of the most influential men in Congress, among them Colfax, Conkling, Garfield, Blaine, and Wilson. When Congress met a few weeks after the election, Blaine, then Speaker, took the floor and asked for an investigation. Two committees were appointed — one headed by Luke Poland, of Vermont, to investigate the charges against members of the House, the other headed by Wilson, of Indiana, and George F. Hoar to inquire into the management of the affairs of the Union Pacific and the Crédit Mobilier. The result was a complete exoneration of most of those whom Ames had on his list. Some, like Blaine, Conkling, and Boutwell, had refused the stock. Others had given it back when they discovered there were to be suspicious profits. Only those who, during the campaign or later, had pre-

varicated in wholesale denials, though guiltless of corrupt intent, were held in fault. Colfax, for his prevarication and for questionable transactions revealed in the inquiry, was driven out of public life. Patterson, of New Hampshire, was recommended by the Senate Committee for expulsion, but his term came to an end before the Senate was prepared to act.

Ames and James Brooks, a New York Democratic member, a government director of the road who was implicated with him, were recommended for expulsion from the House. Brooks died before his case was reached. The House censured Ames, and he too died within a month, the victim of a broken heart. Until the scandal broke, he had not thought of the transaction as anything except a public service in keeping with the habit of the times, for which he should be given praise, not blame: "The same thing," he explained to the committee, "as going into a business community and interesting the leading business men by giving them shares." He never dreamed of corrupting members of Congress in any way; "they were all friends of the road and my friends. If you want to bribe a man you want to bribe one who is opposed to you, not to bribe one who is your friend. . . . I never made a promise to or got one from any member of Congress in my life, and I would not dare to attempt it." His final statement, read in the House before the

vote of censure, merits a record in the history of the time: "I have risked reputation, fortune, everything in an enterprise of incalculable benefit to the Government from which the capital of the world shrank. . . . I have had friends, some of them in official life, with whom I have been willing to share advantageous opportunities of investment. . . . I have kept to the truth through good and evil report; denying nothing, concealing nothing, reserving nothing. Who will say that I alone am to be offered up a sacrifice to appease a public clamor or expiate the sins of others?"

The revelations and the disrepute which followed them mark the beginning of a change in public conscience, which thenceforth was alive to wrong in methods hitherto unblamed. They had no rightful bearing on Grant's Administration, as the transactions were all before his time.

The Congress, which had done so well in handling the Crédit Mobilier affair, stirred public indignation in its dying hours by the enactment of the "Salary Grab," providing for an increase in salaries of Senators and Representatives and the higher officers of the Government. The salary of the President was raised from $25,000 to $50,000 a year, that of Senators and Representatives from $5000 to $7500. There was an increase in the pay of the Vice-President, of the members of the Cabinet, and of the Jus-

tices of the Supreme Court. These advances could not properly be criticized; for they were innocent and necessary, and should not have been delayed so long; but there was a provision that the increased salaries of Senators and Representatives should date from the beginning of the present Congress, so that each would be entitled to receive $5000 in addition to what he had been already paid — a retroactive arrangement which roused the people to a fierce storm of protest. It was depicted as a conspiracy to loot the Treasury, and those who voted for it were held up to public scorn.

Democrats and Republicans had joined in its support; one party was as guilty as the other, but as the Congress was Republican, that party had to bear the blame. The appropriation bill containing the obnoxious clause was not enacted till the day before adjournment, so that Grant could not refuse to sign the bill without compelling a special session of the newly chosen Congress, solely to make the necessary appropriations for the continuance of an essential governmental function. He afterwards urged Congress to give the Executive power to veto portions of appropriation bills without vetoing the whole — a reform which has been often advocated since without result.

So violent was the outcry against the "Back Pay Steal" that many Senators and Representatives

turned back into the Treasury the back pay which had been voted them, and one of the first acts of the new Congress which met in December, 1873, was to repeal the law except as it applied to the President and Justices of the Supreme Court. The issue figured largely in the next congressional election and was in part responsible for the Republican defeat. Its shadow lay on Congress for over thirty years, and not until the Roosevelt Administration did any member dare propose the salary increase which all knew to be right, resorting rather to manipulation of their pay by petty subterfuge in separate allowances for mileage, clerk hire, and stationery, in timorous deference to a public feeling which did not exist.

No one has ever told why Grant as President took up with Butler, whom as Lieutenant-General he had sent home from City Point and who, in "Butler's Book" years later, smeared Grant's war record with a filthy brush. It may have been because of his dislike for Sumner, whose Massachusetts friends detested Butler's ways, or it may have been his inbred trait of standing in a fight by any one who seemed to him unfairly handled; but under all, we may surmise Butler's frank brutality of method, which perhaps appealed to him more strongly than the finer Brahmin touch. He always clung to those with whom he felt at home. The Massachusetts patronage he

gave to Butler much to the general disgust. His choice of Simmons, "the young Christian Soldier," a Methodist class leader and Butler's henchman, for Collector of the Port of Boston, aroused resentment in the State and stirred to protest men like Sumner, Pierce, Whittier, and Holmes, all bitterly opposed to Butler's strong ambition to be Governor. Six New England Senators voted against Simmons, only one for confirmation. The Hoar brothers tried to induce Grant to withdraw the nomination; but Grant was obdurate.

"Butler says he has a hold on you," said Judge Hoar, as he sat beside the President; and Rhodes, to whom this story came direct, relates that "Grant set his teeth, then drew down his jaw, and without changing countenance looked Hoar straight in the eye, but said not a word. A long and painful silence ensued and Hoar went away." George F. Hoar in his "Autobiography" tells how he broached the Simmons topic while walking with the President by Lafayette Square. Grant quietly replied that to withdraw the nomination would do injustice to the young man. The conversation continued in a friendly vein until they turned the corner by Sumner's house, when Grant's whole manner changed, and shaking his closed fist he said, "I shall not withdraw the nomination. That man who lives up there has abused me in

a way which I have never suffered from any other man living!" This was in the winter of 1873, only a few weeks before Sumner's sudden end.

The scandal of the Sanborn contracts grew out of Butler's influence with the Administration. William A. Richardson, who had been Assistant Secretary of the Treasury under Boutwell and who succeeded Boutwell when the latter became a Senator, came from Lowell, Butler's town. Richardson had no administrative service save in the Washington departments. It was of him that Judge Hoar remarked, when asked about his Massachusetts record, "His reputation is strictly national." In 1872 Congress had repealed the dangerous law by which informers received a moiety of the recoveries from delinquent payers of internal revenue taxes, but a clause had been smuggled into an appropriation bill empowering the Secretary of the Treasury "to employ not more than three persons to assist the proper officers of the Government in discovering and collecting any money belonging to the United States whenever the same shall be withheld." Under this clause, Richardson, first as Assistant Secretary, afterwards as Secretary of the Treasury, made contracts with John D. Sanborn, a Boston friend of Butler's, already in the Government's employ as special agent for the Treasury, to collect taxes which were said to have been evaded by

distillers, railroad companies, legatees, and others. By successive amendments to his contract, Sanborn induced the Treasury officials to let him gather in his net several thousand individuals and almost every railroad company in the United States, and to wink at fraudulent swearing to delinquencies.

Under this contract $427,000 was collected, from which Sanborn received his moiety of $213,500. Of his share Sanborn testified that $156,000 was spent in hiring men to help him carry on the work, and most of this, it has been intimated, went to those who were engaged in the advancement of Butler's political designs. A congressional committee in 1874 found that a large percentage of the revenue collected was not a proper subject for contract under the law and would have been collected by the Internal Revenue Bureau in ordinary course; that many of the transactions were fraudulent, and that the Commissioner of Internal Revenue had been studiously ignored throughout. They agreed unanimously to report a resolution that the House had no confidence in Richardson and demanded his removal.

When Grant got word of this he sent for individual members of the committee and urged them to withhold the resolution, with the understanding that the Secretary should resign and be taken care of in some other branch of service. As no one intimated that

Richardson had profited by the arrangement and the real complaint against him was for negligence, the committee accepted Grant's proposal. Richardson was made a justice of the Court of Claims, and Benjamin H. Bristow, a Kentucky lawyer who had made a record for effectiveness as United States Attorney, was appointed Secretary in his place.[1]

[1] Henry L. Dawes, in a letter to Frank W. Hackett, on February 21, 1900, had this to say of President Grant's action:—

"It so happened that there was going on in the Committee of Ways and Means of the House a very earnest and vigorous investigation into the conduct of the affairs in the Treasury Department. Much feeling and criticism had been aroused, and there was something of a call for a change in its administration.

"One morning I, as Chairman of the Committee, received a note from President Grant requesting me to call at the White House. On my arrival he said that he desired some confidential information concerning the investigation into the conduct of affairs in the Treasury Department then going on in my committee. He said that he had come to the conclusion that a change had best be made in its administration. 'But,' he added, 'I am not in the habit of turning my back on a friend under fire. Therefore I would like to know from you whether anything has appeared in that investigation affecting the integrity of Mr. Richardson, for if there is not the way presents itself whereby I can make the desired change without striking down one in whom I have myself confidence, and highly esteem.'

"I replied that it gave me great pleasure to assure him that nothing had appeared in the least affecting the integrity of the Secretary, but that it was all decided against the laxity of conducting the affairs of the Department. I was glad also to add my conviction of the spotless character of Mr. Richardson. He said that he was exceedingly glad to hear it, and was entirely satisfied.

"The next day Mr. Richardson was nominated to a judgeship in the Court of Claims and Mr. Bristow to his place in the Treasury."

CHAPTER XLI

VETO OF THE INFLATION BILL — THE RESUMPTION ACT

For more than two years after the Supreme Court's reversal of its Legal Tender decision there was a period of seemingly unexampled prosperity. Business boomed; new railroads shot out through the Western country to gather up the grain for which Europe waited with outstretched hands; others pierced the coal and iron regions of Pennsylvania and the border States. In the four years from 1869 to 1872 the railroad mileage of the United States increased over twenty-four thousand miles — more than three times the average annual increase during the years from 1865 to 1868. All this meant a tremendous demand for iron and steel, a great expansion of shipping on the Great Lakes. Workshops and mills were run at full capacity; labor was in demand; wages were high; the tide of immigration was at flood. New issues of railway bonds were frequent, at high rates of interest; and they were widely distributed among people like clergymen, school teachers, and others of meager pay, who eagerly welcomed the unusual returns upon their small investments.

Many of these railway bonds, notably those of the Northern Pacific, were floated by Jay Cooke & Co., who, ever since their great success in handling the Government bond issues of the Civil War, had stood in the popular imagination as the house of Morgan later stood for so many years, the representative banking institution of the United States. Besides the legitimate business advancement, there were thousands of wildcat schemes.

Every one was busy about something; every one had money; the world was looking up; the Vanderbilts and other men, who for years had been doing the biggest things in the biggest way, were carrying on their constructive schemes with sublime confidence in the future. They saw no clouds ahead; why should the average citizen who had faith in their experience? Then in the late summer of 1873, a few months after Grant had entered on his second term, money began to tighten even more than usual for that season of the year, when it was needed for the movement of the crops. There were other indications which might well have been taken as warnings that the boom had gone too far. And finally on September 18, 1873, the country was stunned by the announcement that Jay Cooke & Co. had failed.

The props were knocked from under the flimsy structure of prosperity and it crumbled overnight.

Bank after bank went to the wall in all parts of the United States. The stock exchanges remained closed for eight days; greenbacks and national bank notes were hoarded; clearing-house certificates were issued for the first time in the history of panics; every conceivable device was resorted to for luring money back into circulation. The country was stricken with industrial paralysis. Grant did not see "good times" again while he was President.

At the height of the panic the frightened financiers of New York cried to Washington for help. Three days after the failure of Jay Cooke & Co., Grant came over to New York with Richardson, the Secretary of the Treasury, and was besieged at the Fifth Avenue Hotel by the business leaders of the city. "I happened in New York on that Sunday," said Morton, of Indiana, "and saw the crowds of bankers, brokers, capitalists, merchants, manufacturers, and railroad men, who throughout that day thronged the halls, corridors, and parlors of the Fifth Avenue Hotel, beseeching the President to increase the currency by every means in his power, and declaring that unless the Government came to the rescue nothing could save the country from bankruptcy and ruin."

Two measures of relief were at Grant's hand. Before McCulloch was stopped by Congress he had retired and canceled $44,000,000 out of $400,000,000

greenbacks authorized by law, leaving in circulation $356,000,000. Boutwell at times had reissued these notes in small amounts to meet the current expenses of the Government and had retired them again as the need passed. Grant now had it in his power to reissue these notes in the financial emergency. Some of the biggest men in the Street begged him to do it.

But he refused thus to inflate the currency in order to ease the money market. At best it would have been a temporary and fictitious relief and probably illegal, though that irregularity would doubtless have been overlooked in so great a crisis. There were other surplus greenbacks in the Treasury, however, and he directed the Secretary to use these to buy bonds, thus restoring to the savings banks $13,000,000 of currency, which, while it did not go directly into circulation for the benefit of Wall Street, was far-reaching in its moral effect.

Congress meeting in December, 1873, found the country in financial depths looking to Washington for relief. There were few Senators or Representatives without a remedy, fresh from home. The cry for inflation, which had been blatant many years, now gained in volume.

Grant called attention in his message to the falling-off of revenues "owing to the general panic now prevailing." It was the duty of Congress to provide

"wise and well-considered legislation." "My own judgment is that however much individuals may have suffered, one long step has been taken toward specie payments, and we can never have permanent prosperity until a specie basis can be reached and maintained, until our exports, exclusive of gold, pay for our imports, interest due abroad, and other specie obligations, or so nearly so as to leave an appreciable accumulation of the precious metals in the country from the products of our mines. . . . To increase our exports sufficient currency is required to keep all the industries of the country employed. Without this, national as well as individual bankruptcy must ensue. Undue inflation, on the other hand, while it might give temporary relief, would only lead to inflation of prices, the impossibility of competing in our own markets for the products of home skill and labor, and repeated renewals of present experiences. Elasticity to our circulating medium, therefore, and just enough of it to transact the legitimate business of the country and to keep all industries employed, is what is most to be desired. The exact medium is specie, the recognized medium of exchange the world over. That obtained, we shall have a currency of an exact degree of elasticity. If there be too much of it for the legitimate purposes of trade and commerce, it will flow out of the country. If too little, the reverse will result.

To hold what we have and to appreciate our currency to that standard is the problem deserving of the most serious consideration of Congress."

John Sherman was chairman of the Finance Committee of the Senate; and under his sound guidance early in December the majority of the committee reported a resolution looking to the resumption of specie payments. Ferry, of Michigan, offered a resolution looking to inflation. Morton and Logan were eager advocates of cheaper money. Thurman called these three "the paper money trinity." Their demands ranged from the issue of $100,000,000 in greenbacks, which Ferry had in mind, to the reissue of the entire amount retired by McCulloch, which was Morton's plan. This latter would have brought the amount outstanding to $400,000,000, but it would have necessitated the actual issue of only $18,000,000; for without justification in law, Richardson had been busy ever since the panic in inflation on his own account to make up for falling revenues, and to provide for current disbursements. McCulloch had retired $44,000,000, and at the time of the September panic in 1873 the total amount of greenbacks outstanding was $356,000,000. Richardson at convenient intervals since that time had put out, by the middle of January, 1874, a total of $26,000,000 for the payment of current expenses.

There was a decided difference of opinion about the legality of Richardson's performance, but the immediate question before Congress was whether to authorize the issue of $18,000,000 more, while silently assenting to what he had done. It was a question of principle rather than of amount. "If now," said Sherman, "in this time of temporary panic, we yield one single inch to the desire for paper money in this country, we shall pass the Rubicon, and there will be no power in Congress to check the issue. If you want $40,000,000 now, how easy will it be to get $40,000,000 again! . . . Will there not always be men in debt? Will not always men with bright hopes embark too far on the treacherous sea of credit? Will there not always be a demand made upon you for an increase?"

The debate covering a wide range lasted for four months. Sherman's committee reported a bill fixing the maximum amount of greenbacks at $382,000,000, where Richardson had left it. This was amended to provide for a maximum of $400,000,000, thus legalizing Richardson's issue and authorizing $18,000,000 more. In this form it passed the Senate and House by ample margins and on April 4, 1874, went to the President.

Now comes one of the most dramatic and creditable incidents in Grant's career. With the passage of the inflation bill the country settled down to the

expectation that it would become a law. There was reason for this belief. While Grant's public and private utterances hitherto had been consistently on the side of financial stability, there were passages both in his private and public papers not inconsistent with a moderate expansion of the circulating medium, and he had tacitly assented to the irregularities of Boutwell and Richardson even though he may not have approved them in advance. Morton and Logan were his stanch political supporters. They had sustained him when he had been most bitterly assailed. But here was an occasion where he fully realized the responsibility of his position of command.

It would have been easy to say nothing and sign the bill; still easier to let the bill become a law without his signature. In either case he would have little criticism. Whatever blame there was would fall on Congress.

Grant never thought of shirking the responsibility. He first expected to approve the bill and actually wrote a message telling why: but when he came to read his own production, he could not honestly endorse the arguments. He tore up his first message, wrote another, and on the 22d of April astonished the country with a veto.

"The only time I ever deliberately resolved to do an expedient thing for party reasons, against my own

judgment," he later said, "was on the occasion of the expansion or inflation bill. I never was so pressed in my life to do anything as to sign that bill — never. It was represented to me that the veto would destroy the Republican Party in the West; that the West and South would combine and take the country, and agree upon some even worse plan of finance, some plan that would mean repudiation. Morton, Logan, and other men, friends whom I respected, were eloquent in presenting this view. I thought at last I would try and save the party, and at the same time the credit of the nation, from the evils of the bill. I resolved to write a message, embodying my own reasoning and some of the arguments that had been given me, to show that the bill, as passed, need not mean expansion or inflation and that it need not affect the country's credit. The message was intended to soothe the East and satisfy the foreign holders of the bonds. I wrote the message with great care and put in every argument I could call up to show that the bill was harmless and would not accomplish what its friends expected from it. When I finished my wonderful message which was to do so much good to the party and country, I read it over and said to myself: 'What is the good of all this? You do not believe it. You know it is not true.' Throwing it aside I resolved to do what I believed to be right, veto the

bill! I could not stand my own arguments. While I was in this mood — and it was an anxious time with me, so anxious that I could not sleep at night, with me a most unusual circumstance — the ten days were passing in which the President must sign or veto a bill. On the ninth day I resolved inflexibly to veto the bill and let the storm come."[1]

Grant wrote his veto with his own hand, as was generally the case with his important messages. It was a sturdy and inspiring paper. He declared his unalterable opposition to any inflation of the currency as "a departure from true principles of finance, national interest, national obligations to creditors, congressional promises, party pledges (on the part of both political parties), and of personal views and promises made by me in every annual message sent to Congress and in each inaugural address." It was the turning-point in the financial policy of the United States. If Grant had done no other praiseworthy thing in his eight years of office, this in itself would have given him rank among our great executives. It fixed the place of the United States among the financial powers of the world.

But something still remained for him to do; for though inflation had been dealt a deadly blow, additional legislation was required to bring about a cur-

[1] Young, vol. II, p. 153.

rency based unmistakably upon the monetary standards of the world. In 1874 the country was ready for a party change. Hard times, the record made by Congress, Crédit Mobilier, the "Back Pay Grab," and scandals like the Sanborn contracts, had culminated in a storm of disapproval which broke in the election of a Democratic House. The two-thirds Republican majority of the Forty-fourth Congress was almost reversed, and for the first time since 1861, Senate and House would be of differing political complexion. Whatever legislation looking to the resumption of specie payments the Administration had in mind must be enacted while a Congress in sympathy with this policy was still in power; for sound finance had no place in the Democratic creed.

When Congress met in December, 1874, for its last short session, Grant in his message brought resumption boldly to the front, pressing his argument with earnestness and with convincing force. He dwelt upon the national need which had devised a currency impossible to keep at par with the recognized currency of the civilized world, urged that a foreign indebtedness, contracted in good faith by borrower and lender, should be paid in coin, and according to the bond agreed upon when the debt was contracted — gold or its equivalent. "The good faith of the Government cannot be violated toward creditors

without national disgrace." In his judgment the first step toward the encouragement of American commerce was "to secure a currency of fixed, stable value; a currency good wherever civilization reigns; one which, if it becomes superabundant with one people, will find a market with some other; a currency which has as its basis the labor necessary to produce it, which will give to it its value. Gold and silver are now the recognized medium of exchange the civilized world over, and to this we should return with the least practicable delay. . . . I believe firmly that there can be no prosperous and permanent revival of business and industries until a policy is adopted — with legislation to carry it out — looking to a return to a specie basis. . . . I believe it is in the power of Congress at this session to devise such legislation as will renew confidence, revive all the industries, start us on a career of prosperity to last for many years, and to save the credit of the nation and the people."

He suggested measures which seemed to him absolutely necessary to a return to specie payments. "The Legal Tender clause to the law authorizing the issue of currency by the National Government should be repealed, to take effect as to all contracts entered into after a day fixed in the repealing act. . . . Provision should be made by which the Secretary of the

Treasury can obtain gold as it may become necessary from time to time, from the date when specie resumption commences. To this should be added a revenue sufficiently in excess of expenses to insure an accumulation of gold in the Treasury to sustain permanent redemption.... With resumption, free banking may be authorized with safety, giving the same full protection to bill-holders which they have under existing laws. Indeed, I regard free banking as essential. It would give proper elasticity to the currency." And pressing home his plea he urged: "I commend this subject to your careful consideration, believing that a favorable solution is attainable, and if reached by this Congress that the present and future generations will ever gratefully remember it as their deliverer from a thralldom of evil and disgrace."

Congress was quick in its response. John Sherman, chairman of the Committee on Finance at the first party caucus, moved a committee to harmonize the various diverging views of the majority and formulate a bill. He was made chairman. By mutual concessions a bill was shaped, the vital section of which provided that on January 1, 1879, the Government should begin the redemption of greenbacks in coin; and, to make possible this resumption of specie payments, authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to use the surplus revenue and to sell bonds for the

purpose of accumulating gold. The bill also provided for free banking, for the withdrawal of greenbacks as fast as national bank notes were issued in the proportion of $80 to $100 until the greenbacks were reduced to $300,000,000; for subsidiary silver coins to take the place of the paper fractional currency.

The bill promptly passed both Senate and House, and on January 14, 1875, Grant made it law, signalizing his approval in a message congratulating Congress, urging further steps to make the law effective through the increase of revenue, and suggesting other helpful legislation. It fell to Sherman as Secretary of the Treasury under Hayes to carry out the law with whose enactment he had so much to do, and thus complete a chapter in finance of which all good Americans may rightfully be proud.

CHAPTER XLII

A SOLID SOUTH IN THE MAKING

One cannot review the story of the South during these years without a feeling of deep melancholy. We have seen how in the flood of negro suffrage the States of the Black Belt had been misgoverned, and we have had a dark recital of the extravagance, dishonesty, and ignorance which laid a heavy hand upon a proud though conquered people. There are few instances in history of such complete misapprehension of a human problem by those entrusted with its settlement. The North, befooled by myths about the negro, failed utterly to comprehend the mental attitude of those who after exercising feudal power found themselves suddenly subordinate to former slaves, a race still looked upon by them as of a hopelessly inferior type. The hurried grant of universal suffrage was an offense for which both North and South have paid a grievous penalty. In throwing off a hateful burden, the people of the South, as if pursuant to a law of nature, have let all other problems wait upon the vital problem of local government. It would be hard to overestimate the injury done the nation as a whole by the existence of the "Solid South," where

there is found the finest essence of the Anglo-Saxon race, yet where there is no adequate debate of timely themes because the negro question overshadows all. That it may now be a fantastic fear is quite beside the point. The dread of negro domination has become ingrained through memory of actual experience in Reconstruction times. The South itself must bear the cruel load of its solidity; but the North, which furnished the excuse unwittingly, must share the expiation because it shares the blame.

The part Grant had to play in his endeavor to do justice in the South is one he neither relished nor deserved. He did not favor negro suffrage at the start, and acquiesced in it as a necessity only when through others' folly it seemed unavoidable. But when corruption and malfeasance led to bloodshed his soldier's instinct led him to enforce the law. His use of federal troops, subject to hot denunciation at the time, has been thrown up against him ever since; as if it were the cause of violence and not intended as the cure. The opposition charged that he essayed to play the rôle of Cæsar, that he aimed to keep himself in office by military force, till men forgot that all the federal soldiers in the South could hardly have policed a single town. It took four years of fighting and two million men to put down insurrection in a territory which he was charged with trying to enslave with

four thousand soldiers scattered through a dozen States. That was the highest number in the South under arms at any single time, embracing the garrisons of all the forts between the Delaware and the Gulf of Mexico.[1] It would have been a great thing for the South, in Grant's opinion, if some of the streams of emigration from New England and the Middle States had been diverted in that direction instead of toward Iowa and Kansas. In the light of history and his own experience we must examine with respect Grant's matured views upon the problem which pressed upon him heavily so long: —

"Looking back over the whole policy of Reconstruction, it seems to me that the wisest thing would have been to have continued for some time the military rule. Sensible Southern men see now that there was no government so frugal, so just, and fair as what they had under our generals. That would have enabled the Southern people to pull themselves together and repair material losses. . . . Military rule would have been just to all, to the negro who wanted freedom, the white man who wanted protection, the Northern man who wanted Union. As State after

[1] The whole number of troops in the States of Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, Mississippi, Maryland, and Virginia at the time of the election was 4082. This embraces the garrisons of all the forts from the Delaware to the Gulf of Mexico! (Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. VII, p. 298.)

State showed willingness to come into the Union, not on their own terms, but upon ours, I would have admitted them. This would have made universal suffrage unnecessary, and I think a mistake was made about suffrage. It was unjust to the negro to throw upon him the responsibilities of citizenship, and expect him to be on even terms with his white neighbor. It was unjust to the North.

"In giving the South negro suffrage, we have given the old slaveholders forty votes in the Electoral College. They keep those votes, but disfranchise the negroes. That is one of the gravest mistakes in the policy of Reconstruction. . . . I am clear now that it would have been better for the North to have postponed suffrage, Reconstruction, State Governments, for ten years, and held the South in a territorial condition. . . . It would have avoided the scandals of the State Governments, saved money, and enabled the Northern merchants, farmers, and laboring men to reorganize society in the South. But we made our scheme, and must do what we can with it. Suffrage once given can never be taken away and all that remains for us now is to make good that gift by protecting those who have received it."[1]

Such elections as were held in 1873 disclosed a Democratic trend, due partly to the panic, partly to

[1] Young, p. 362.

other things, and as election day approached in 1874, the Democratic trend throughout the North became intensified. In sympathy with the general tendency there was a recurrence in several Southern States of anti-negro demonstrations, which Grant described in his December message.[1]

In Alabama, "men of intelligence and property"

[1] "I regret to say that with preparations for the late election decided indications appeared in some localities in the Southern States of a determination, by acts of violence and intimidation, to deprive citizens of the freedom of the ballot because of their political opinions. Bands of men, masked and armed, made their appearance; White Leagues and other societies were formed; large quantities of arms and ammunition were imported and distributed to these organizations; military drills, with menacing demonstrations, were held, and with all these murders enough were committed to spread terror among those whose political action was to be suppressed, if possible, by these intolerant and criminal proceedings. I understand that the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution was made to prevent this and a like state of things, and the Act of May 31, 1870, with amendments, was passed to enforce its provisions, the object of both being to guarantee to all citizens the right to vote and to protect them in the free enjoyment of that right. Enjoined by the Constitution 'to take care that the laws be faithfully executed,' and convinced by undoubted evidence that violations of said act had been committed and that a widespread and flagrant disregard of it was contemplated, the proper officers were instructed to prosecute the offenders, and troops were stationed at convenient points to aid these officers, if necessary, in the performance of their official duties. Complaints are made of this interference by federal authority; but if said amendment and act do not provide for such interference under the circumstances as above stated, then they are without meaning, force, or effect, and the whole scheme of colored enfranchisement is worse than mockery and little better than a crime." (Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. VII, p. 297.)

had determined to redeem the State. And there were reports which gained wide credence in the North of "riots, murderings, assassinations and torturings" more common than at any time since Lee's surrender. These stories were discredited by newspaper writers, but Grant under authority of the Enforcement Acts sent 679 soldiers to Alabama to insure a fair election. Yet in face of this display of force which emboldened the negroes to vote the Republican ticket, a Democratic Governor and Legislature were elected by comfortable majorities. A select committee of the House of Representatives investigated the election, and the Republican members reported that it was carried by "fraud, violence, proscription, intimidation, and murder." The Democrats admitted that there were riots in several places on election day, in which the negroes got the worst of it, but they maintained that in these riots the negroes were aggressors.

In Arkansas there had been in 1872 an armed dispute between the followers of Brooks and those of Baxter — rival Republican candidates for Governor. Grant recognized Baxter, the more conservative of the two, as the lawful executive. Baxter's Legislature passed a bill calling a constitutional convention. The people endorsed this action. The constitution framed by this convention was ratified on October

15, 1874, by popular vote and on the same day A. H. Garland, Democrat, afterward Attorney-General of the United States, was elected Governor with a Democratic Legislature and four Democratic Congressmen. The President took up the Arkansas problem from a new viewpoint. On February 8, 1875, he sent a special message to Congress, expressing the opinion that Brooks, instead of Baxter, had been legally elected Governor in 1872; that he had been illegally deprived of the possession of the office since that time; that "in 1874 the constitution of the State was by violence, intimidation, and revolutionary proceedings overthrown and a new constitution adopted and a new State Government established." He asserted that these proceedings, if permitted to stand, practically ignored all rights of minorities in all the States. ". . . I earnestly ask that Congress will take definite action in this matter to relieve the Executive from acting upon questions which should be decided by the legislative branch of the Government."

Grant's thought was that all proceedings under the illegal Baxter régime should be annulled, in which event Brooks would be restored to the office which was rightfully his under the old constitution till January, 1877.

A committee of the House, headed by Luke P. Poland, reported a resolution that "in the judgment

of this House no interference with the existing government in Arkansas by any department of the Government of the United States is advisable," and the resolution was adopted by the overwhelming vote of 150 to 81, in a House overwhelmingly Republican. Poland in supporting his resolution asserted that the change from one constitution to another was as peaceful a change as ever took place in his own State of Vermont; that under the Garland Government everything was as peaceful and quiet as in Massachusetts.

In February, 1875, a Civil Rights Bill was enacted, not quite on Sumner's lines, aimed to secure to negroes equal rights in inns, public conveyances, theaters, and other places of amusement and to prevent their disqualification for services as jurors. It was a wanton irritant, futile in results; for eight years later, in 1883, the Supreme Court declared its chief provisions unconstitutional.

In Mississippi there was a condition different from either Arkansas or Alabama. The Legislature, in control of negroes and carpet-baggers, had laid heavy taxes for the support of an ambitious system of public schools which roused the indignation of the Ku-Klux Klan and led to persecution of the negroes and Northern women who came there to teach. Adelbert Ames, who had seen gallant service in the

Army of the James, was Governor. He was an earnest and consistent champion of the negro. In Vicksburg, where over half the population were negroes, the whites, exasperated by high taxes, forced Crosby, the Republican sheriff, to resign. Ames told the sheriff to hold his office, and Crosby called upon the negroes of the county to sustain him. There were riots in which twenty-nine negroes and two whites were killed. Sheridan, who was in command at New Orleans, sent soldiers to Vicksburg. Crosby was reinstated and peace restored.

In 1875 the "men of intelligence and property" organized to carry the election and control the Legislature. There were fifteen thousand more negro voters in the State than whites. The problem was to persuade the negroes to vote the Democratic ticket or stay away from the polls. "Peaceful persuasion" was the programme, but, unfortunately, Mississippi had the shotgun habits of other frontier communities; every one carried either a bowie knife or a pistol. Negro meetings were broken up by armed white bands. A few whites and many negroes were killed; negroes were shot down in cold blood by way of retribution for the killing of the whites. Ames telegraphed to Grant, asking him to proclaim martial law. But Grant refused. "The whole public," Grant telegraphed to Attorney-General Pierrepont

from Long Branch, "are tired out with these annual autumnal outbreaks in the South, and the great majority are ready now to condemn any interference on the part of the Government. I heartily wish that peace and good order may be restored without issuing the proclamation, but if the proclamation must be issued I shall instruct the commander of the forces to have no child's play; the laws will be executed and the peace will be maintained in every street and highway of the United States."

Ames, full of pugnacity, organized the state militia, mostly negroes, and armed them with Springfield breech-loaders. The whites formed military companies of their own, and bloodshed would have been general had it not been for a "peace agreement" brought about through the conciliatory efforts of an agent of the Department of Justice. Ames disbanded his militia and the Democratic bands dispersed, but while the menacing civil warfare was averted, intimidation proved equally effective.

The "Mississippi Plan," as it was called, consisted in an organized conspiracy to frighten the negroes away from the polls. Salutes with cannon were fired on the public roads; "To let the niggers know that there was going to be a fair election," Private John Allen said. Horsemen with ropes tied to the pommels of their saddles would ride up to a polling-place where

black voters were waiting to cast their ballots. "How soon will the polls be opened?" one asked another. "In about fifteen minutes," was the reply. "Then the *hanging* will not begin for about fifteen minutes," was the response. Not a word to the blacks, but before the fifteen minutes were up, they had all disappeared. The Democrats carried the election by nearly 31,000, had a majority of 93 in the Legislature, elected most of the county officers, and 4 out of 6 members of Congress.

Grant wrote on July 26, 1876: "Mississippi is governed to-day by officials chosen through fraud and violence such as would scarcely be accredited to savages, much less to a civilized and Christian people." Ames was impeached by the new Legislature, but the Legislature subsequently dismissed the charges and Ames resigned. "He bore himself," wrote Roger A. Pryor, "like a brave and honorable gentleman."

Of all cases that of Louisiana was the hardest. The struggle there was marked by differences between Republican factions as well as by Democratic resistance to carpet-bag rule. Henry C. Warmoth, heading one faction, disclosed conservative tendencies. Opposed to him were S. B. Packard, United States Marshal, and William Pitt Kellogg, who had been a lawyer in Illinois, Colonel of an Illinois regiment in the Civil War, and whom Lincoln had made

Collector of Customs at New Orleans in 1865. Warmoth in 1872 had joined the conservative Democrats in supporting a fusion state ticket headed by John McEnery as candidate for Governor. Kellogg was the Republican candidate. Both sides claimed the election of Governor and Legislature. Under the Louisiana law a returning board composed of the Governor, the Lieutenant-Governor, the Secretary of State, and two others specifically named had the power of throwing out the returns from any voting-places which in their judgment had been carried by violence, intimidation, bribery, or corrupt influence. Warmoth, who had the returns in his own hands, reconstructed the returning board; the new board announced the election of McEnery and enough fusion members of the Legislature to make a majority. The Republicans got up a returning board of their own and declared Kellogg with a Republican Legislature elected. The United States Circuit Judge issued an order late at night directing the United States Marshal to take possession of the State House. Packard was not only sheriff, but chairman of the State Committee. By authority of the Attorney-General he had the United States troops at his disposal, and with them he seized and held the State House. Under his protection, Kellogg assumed the governorship.

Grant sent a special message, February 25, 1873, arguing in favor of the Kellogg Government. He said that if Congress took no action he should recognize and support it.

Turbulence followed in the trail of recognition. There was a massacre at Colfax on the Red River, three hundred and fifty miles from New Orleans, within two months, white men riding into the town and demanding that the negroes lay down their arms and surrender the court-house. The court-house in which sixty or seventy negroes had taken refuge was fired; as the negroes rushed out, some were killed and some were captured. Those captured were mercilessly shot down. In all, the negroes killed at Colfax were fifty-nine, whites only two. "This deed was without palliation or justification," wrote George F. Hoar, who as chairman of a congressional committee made a report. "It was deliberate, barbarous, cold-blooded murder. It will stand like the Massacre of Glencoe or St. Bartholomew, a foul blot on the page of history," — hyperbole again, perhaps, but the bloody deed was black enough to have a marked effect upon the feeling of the North, which was beginning at that time to turn against the men who were exploiting negro suffrage for their own political gain. A little over a year later, at Coushatta, a little farther up the river, there was another massacre, equally

foul. After an assault upon the blacks by members of the White League, with killing on both sides, six white Republican office-holders, lately from the North, gave themselves up to the White League, who had demanded that they resign. While they were being taken under guard to Shreveport, they were set on by another band and murdered in cold blood.

Grant having withdrawn the federal troops, except a few who were still garrisoned in New Orleans, the white conservatives, on September 14, 1874, started an insurrection in that city, barricaded the streets, fought with the colored metropolitan police, and seized the State House, where their leaders started to reorganize the Government. Grant at once sent troops, under whose protection the Kellogg Government was set up again. The armed force sustaining the conservatives was broken up.

In the election for members of the Legislature in 1874, the conservatives on the face of the returns elected a majority of 29. Kellogg's returning board, after weeks of thought, threw out conservatives on charges of intimidation and fraud till they found that 53 conservatives and 53 radicals had been elected. With regard to five seats they rendered no decision. When the Legislature met in January, 1875, there were scenes of wild disorder. The conservatives seized control, elected a speaker, and seated their

five contestants for the vacant seats. The Republicans withdrew in order to break a quorum.

General de Trobriand, armed with an order from Kellogg to clear the hall of all persons not returned as legal members by the returning board, appeared with a file of soldiers. With fixed bayonets the soldiers approached one by one each of the five members sitting in his place and forced him to leave the hall. The conservative Speaker and his party withdrew, the Republicans returned and organized as best they could.

Sheridan, whom Grant had ordered to New Orleans, now assumed command. "I think," he telegraphed, "that the terrorization now existing in Louisiana, Mississippi, and Arkansas could be entirely removed and confidence and fair dealing established by the arrest and trial of the ringleaders of the armed White League. If Congress would pass a bill declaring them banditti they could be tried by a military commission. . . . It is possible that if the President would issue a proclamation declaring them banditti, no further action need be taken, except that which would devolve upon me."

Belknap, the Secretary of War, telegraphed Sheridan: "The President and all of us have full confidence and thoroughly approve your course. . . . Be assured that the President and Cabinet confide in your wis-

dom and rest in the belief that all acts of yours have been and will be judicious."

The opposition newspapers in the North and the anti-Administration band in the Senate flamed out against Sheridan, against de Trobriand, especially against Grant. "If this can be done in Louisiana," cried Schurz, "and if such things be sustained by Congress, how long will it be before it can be done in Massachusetts and Ohio? . . . How long before a general of the Army may sit in the chair you occupy, sir, to decide contested election cases, for the purpose of manufacturing a majority in the Senate? How long before a soldier may stalk into the National House of Representatives and, pointing to the Speaker's mace, say, 'Take away that bauble!'" Indignation meetings were held in Cooper Institute and Faneuil Hall.

Charles Foster, William Walter Phelps, and Clarkson N. Potter, a congressional committee who had been in New Orleans to investigate the action of Kellogg's returning board, and who were there during the disturbances at the State House, united in a report "that the action of the returning board on the whole was arbitrary, unjust, and, in our opinion, illegal," and that this alone prevented the return of a conservative majority in the Legislature. They asserted that "the conviction has been general among

the whites since 1872 that the Kellogg Government was an usurpation." Another committee, consisting of George F. Hoar, William A. Wheeler, and William P. Frye, reported that intimidation had prevented "a full, free, and fair election" in 1874 and that General de Trobriand's interference "alone prevented a scene of bloodshed." On their recommendation the "Wheeler Compromise" was accepted, giving a conservative majority in the House; the Senate was Republican; by resolution the Legislature agreed not to disturb the Kellogg Government.

South Carolina for a moment shot a ray of light across the gloom. Daniel H. Chamberlain, a Massachusetts soldier, a lawyer, a graduate of Yale, with high ideals, Attorney-General from 1868 to 1872, with fine courage set his face against misrule. He was elected Governor in 1874, succeeding the scoundrel Moses, who in his turn had followed the disreputable Scott. He vetoed numerous plunder bills, reformed the courts, and cut loose from the rogues. "My highest ambition," he said, "has been to make the ascendancy of the Republican party in South Carolina compatible with the attainment and maintenance of as high and pure a tone in the administration of public affairs as can be exhibited in the proudest State of the South." In his two years as Governor he partially succeeded. But he was not omnipotent.

CHAPTER XLIII

THE WHISKEY RING — THE BELKNAP CASE — GRANT'S STEADFAST LOYALTY — THE CHIEF JUSTICESHIP

"GRANT is honest as Old Jack Taylor," Sherman wrote home from Vicksburg in reply to hints of deals with traders who swarmed the Union camps bartering their country for Mississippi cotton; and it is history that attacks on Grant all through the war originated with unscrupulous contractors whose crookedness he had exposed, forbidding them to ply their wretched traffic in his jurisdiction. Yet he was fated in the White House to be a ready target for the press by reason of disclosures affecting men in whom he placed his trust. Our Civil War, like every other war in history, had left corruption in its trail, though differing from most others in the rapidity with which men set themselves to cleaning out the thieves and the contemporaneous publicity of the disclosures. Many suspicious things which came to light while Grant was President would have occasioned little comment in other times or other countries. It is a lasting tribute to the spirit of the day that evildoers were so quickly brought to punishment, though at

the moment, the very triumph of reform cast on the period a cloud which history has not yet dispelled, for history, like politics, is ever true to form in over-emphasizing superficial faults at the expense of ingrained quality.

Grant did not seek the easy fame which comes to the crusader; he had no mission to reform the ways of other men; he was so wholly human that he could never quite divorce his public functions from his private life. As President he kept about him those he liked, and while we may regret his taste in choice of some of his companions, we cannot blame the faith with which he clung to them. "Grant was the only man I ever knew," says one who was for eight years at his side, "upon whose promise you could safely go to sleep. He never failed to keep his word even in the smallest things. If once he pledged himself you could dismiss it from your mind, and travel round the world. It would be done."[1] This trait of constancy contributed to his success, but in conjunction with his childlike trust it was a dangerous thing, which brought him bitterness of soul. Experience did not seem to profit him. He had the unsuspecting chivalry of friendship; throughout his life his sympathy went out to those he thought the victims of injustice; though they might be at fault, his instinct was to

[1] General C. C. Sniffen.

shield them from attack. In the grim chase of justice his heart ran with the fox, not with the hounds.

Of all the men by whom he stood for good or bad, Babcock, his aide and secretary, brought him the greatest care, for Babcock had a genius for getting into scrapes, some doubtless innocent for all their ugliness. He was charged first with mercenary aims in San Domingo; but there was never any evidence that he was guilty there of anything but indifference to proprieties. The fact that he was then exonerated tied Grant more closely to him, as one who had been persecuted in a cause Grant had at heart.

Babcock was charged with having had a hand in paving contracts when Alexander Shepard was Governor of the District, but could be blamed apparently for nothing worse than indiscretion. Shepard was ruthless in his methods; undoubtedly his friends made money out of real estate and contracts under his régime; but nothing short of ruthlessness could have wrought such miracles as he performed almost in a night while changing Washington from a straggling, ragged town of mud and huts into a Capital with spacious avenues consistent with the splendid plans of l'Enfant three quarters of a century before. The country rang with cries against "Boss" Shepard at the time, and Congress changed the form of government, creating a commission for the District in order

to get rid of him as Governor and eliminate the "District Ring." Grant aroused resentment when he sent Shepard's nomination to the Senate as one of the Commissioners. Shepard, discredited and poor, betook himself to Mexico, but when he came back, after twenty years of exile, he was the hero of a civic demonstration. His statue now embellishes the Avenue which he restored.

Babcock became the center of the scandal of the "Whiskey Ring," dragging the President himself into a compromising place. The story of the Whiskey Ring is an unhappy chapter of the time. Bristow, who succeeded Richardson as Secretary of the Treasury in June, 1874, had some experience as a prosecuting officer through having been a federal attorney, but he was little known outside Kentucky until he made his record in the Treasury as a minister of reform. There he found matters ready at his hand to test his quality and add to his repute.

For years there had been frauds upon the revenue through a conspiracy of distillers and rectifiers in the whiskey-making centers of the Middle West, — St. Louis, Chicago, and Milwaukee, — who, with the connivance of dishonest internal revenue officials, cheated the Treasury out of taxes due. The richest pickings were in Johnson's time, but it is said that during three years, under Grant, three times more

whiskey was shipped from St. Louis alone than paid the tax, and that the Government in six years was defrauded out of revenue amounting to nearly $3,000,000. It had long been suspected that frauds were perpetrated on the revenue by the distillers; and with Grant's approval in the summer of 1874 steps had been taken to put a stop to them, but without success; the service was so honeycombed with clerks participating in illegal profits of the ring that any move to interfere with the conspirators was promptly known to every one involved. It was not till G. W. Fishback, editor of the "St. Louis Democrat," gave to Bristow secret information and with Bristow's sanction set unofficial agencies to work, that it was possible to ferret out the methods of the ring without some guilty partner in the Treasury divulging what was going on. This word was confidentially conveyed to Bristow in February, 1875, and on the 10th of May, after a train of evidence had been laid skillfully, he lit the fuse. Simultaneous raids were made all over the United States. In St. Louis, Milwaukee, and Chicago, sixteen distilleries and sixteen rectifying establishments were seized, and fraudulent packages were found in almost every other town of any size. The thing at once had public notoriety and for months thereafter newspapers spread the record of the revelations and the trials. Grant

was well in touch with the inquiry and joined in the pursuit.

Before long it was found that Babcock had been corresponding with the leaders of the ring, and there were intimations, not only that he shared the profits, but that he used this means of raising funds for Grant's election in 1872 and was preparing to finance a third term by the same device. Helping Dyer, the Government Attorney, in the preparation of the case, was John B. Henderson, the former Senator, one of Grant's most malignant critics. McDonald, the supervisor at St. Louis, who was convicted and jailed, says that Henderson asked him to plead guilty and become a witness for the Government (promising him immunity from punishment). Because of his devotion, he says, he refused to testify against Grant and Babcock and went to the penitentiary willingly in order to preserve Grant and the Nation from scandal.[1] Barnard, a St. Louis banker, wrote to Grant, denouncing Henderson and Dyer, and urging that "the interest of the Government and your own past record should be protected by additional counsel . . . regardless of the prospective influence of press, party,

[1] Rhodes, vol. VII, p. 187. But McDonald's book, *Secrets of the Great Whiskey Ring*, which was issued as a campaign document in 1880, is a mass of falsehoods, and while some of the statements may have been correct by accident, it is not safe to accept a single one of them as true. McDonald could not have written the book himself. He was illiterate.

or self-aggrandizement." The letter gave the names of many who should be called as witnesses and told of revenue officials who had been quoted as saying Grant could not give them up or Babcock would be lost. This letter came to Grant at Long Branch on July 29, and he at once referred it to the Secretary of the Treasury with an endorsement in his own hand: ". . . I forward this for information and to the end that if it throws any light upon new parties to summon as witnesses they may be brought out. *Let no guilty man escape if it can be avoided.* Be specially vigilant — or instruct those engaged in the prosecution of fraud to be — against all who insinuate that they have high influence to protect — or to protect them. No personal consideration should stand in the way of performing a public duty."

The ink was hardly dry on this historic note before conspiracies began to multiply within conspiracies. Those implicated in the frauds upon the revenue, in wriggling to escape, were glad for a pretense to drag the scandal to the White House door, in hope that this might bring to them immunity. Bristow, an honest and courageous man himself, had in his train a stream of flatterers exciting his political ambition, and the press began to talk about him as a candidate for President. Around Grant there revolved a multitude of satellites, continually whispering a third term

and poisoning his mind against the machinations of the friends of Bristow. Pervading the Administration was the venom of distrust. In August the investigators found a dispatch from Babcock addressed to an indicted officer, signed "Sylph," and reading, "I have succeeded. They will not go. I will write you." This was interpreted to mean that he had kept the ring informed about the Treasury's activities. Much was made of this dispatch till it was found to have no bearing on the frauds, though it suggested a companionship impure in other ways.

A little later Grant, with Babcock, visited several Western cities, St. Louis with the rest, and before he started Bluford Wilson, Solicitor of the Treasury, wrote to Henderson reminding him of the importance of neglecting no precaution "to reach the *bottom or top* of the conspiracy," and advising that the defendants be placed under strict surveillance "for the next ten days or two weeks"; and Wilson later said: "I wrote that letter intending that General Babcock should be looked after. If he was in the ring, I intended to catch him if it was in my power. If he was not, I intended to demonstrate his innocence beyond the shadow of a doubt if it were possible to do so."

The manner of this chase of Babcock angered Grant, who was convinced that a plot was hatching to besmirch himself. Two of the ring had been con-

victed, and in December, on evidence which these trials divulged, Babcock was indicted in St. Louis "for conspiracy to defraud the revenue," a special military court of inquiry having previously been called at Babcock's request. Critics of the Administration declared that this court, which never sat to hear the case, was granted to forestall the civil suit. Henderson in the course of one of the trials had cried: "What right had the President to interfere with the honest discharge of the duties of a Secretary of the Treasury? None whatever! Is it to continue in this country that because a man holds an office at the hands of another he is to become his slave?" — and much more to the same purport. When this was read by Grant, he promptly ordered Henderson's dismissal, a step which, coming the day after Babcock's indictment, caused a wild outcry in the press, though Henderson was replaced with James O. Brodhead, the Democratic head of the St. Louis bar, at least as good a man as Henderson had been. The change was first talked over in the Cabinet, and every member, including Bristow, voted for Henderson's removal, regarding his performance "as an outrage upon professional propriety."

Grant was viciously attacked because with his approval the Attorney-General sent a letter to all district attorneys to stop the wholesale granting of im-

munities, which had been instigated by the Treasury to reach men "higher up." "Suggestions have been made," he wrote, "that quite too many guilty men are to go unpunished.... I am determined as far as lies in my power to have these prosecutions so conducted that when they are over, the honest judgment of the honest men of the country — which is sure in the main to be just — will say that no one has been prosecuted from malice, and that no guilty one has been let off through favoritism, and that no guilty one who has been proved guilty or confessed himself guilty has been suffered to escape punishment."[1]

A copy of this letter fell into Babcock's hands and he gave it to the press. "They were trying to destroy me," he explained to the Attorney-General, "and I had a right to anything I could get hold of"; and Pierrepont testified before the House Committee,

[1] Out of all those indicted and as a result of several trials, only three of the St. Louis ring served a jail sentence. One of these was McDonald, who was sentenced to three years' imprisonment and was pardoned after serving two. Former Paymaster-General Culver C. Sniffen, who was one of Grant's secretaries throughout both Administrations, and who has made a careful study of the records, says: "A surprising number of immunities from punishment were granted to confessed criminals. Out of forty-seven persons indicted in Chicago during October and November, 1875, *criminal* immunity was granted in advance of the time for trial in almost every instance, while up to August 4, 1876, but three of them had been given light jail sentences and representatives of the distillers were then in Washington claiming civil immunity. In St. Louis, out of fourteen distillers, thirteen pleaded guilty in one day and none received other than civil punishment, while the acknowledged organizer of

"I heard the President say five or six times in the progress of the case, 'If Babcock is guilty there is no man who wants him so much proven guilty as I do, for it is the greatest piece of traitorism to me that a man could possibly practice.'"

When Babcock's trial came off in February, Grant asked to be a witness, and at his request his deposition was taken at the White House by the Chief Justice of the United States, Bristow and Pierrepont present, with attorneys for Babcock and the Government. He swore that he had never seen anything in the conduct or talk of Babcock which indicated to his mind connection with the Whiskey Ring; that Babcock had evinced fidelity and integrity as regards the public interest, performed his duties as private secretary "to my entire satisfaction"; that "I have always had great confidence in his integrity and efficiency"; and that "I never had any information from Babcock or any one else indicating in any manner, directly or indirectly, that any funds for political purposes were being raised by any improper

the ring escaped punishment altogether. The court stated in advance that any one who pleaded guilty would not be sentenced until all the cases had been disposed of except those who had absconded, and most of the cases were later dismissed. According to a statement given out by the Attorney-General and printed in the *New York Herald*, February 29, 1876, there had been at that time 253 indictments. Of these 40 distillers, 6 distillery employees, and 21 others had pleaded guilty. There had been 17 trials, resulting in 13 convictions, 3 acquittals and 1 disagreement."

methods." He swore that Babcock never spoke to him about the charges against the Whiskey Ring, and had not sought to influence him in any way. He went with full detail into his own relation to the investigation; said that if Babcock had been guilty of misconduct he would have known it. The unprecedented spectacle of the President proffering his testimony in a case like this, his boldness in coming forward to defend his secretary, his accepted honesty, had a far-reaching influence, and silenced all but the most raucous critics. Not through Grant's testimony, but through the absence of convincing evidence, Babcock was speedily acquitted.

The "New York Tribune," which up to that moment had been vitriolic in its comments, declaring that a President with such a complete misconception of the nature and limitations of his authority "is better fitted to rule an Asiatic kingdom than a free American republic," now had to congratulate the country heartily on the result: "The indictment has been submitted to the severest legal tests. No one can complain that the court was biased in General Babcock's favor, or that the prosecution was inefficient, or that the jury were prepossessed. . . . At the entrance of the White House, the scandal has been met and turned back."[1]

[1] *New York Tribune*, February 25, 1876.

Babcock was acquitted on February 24. When he returned to Washington he went as usual to his desk. Grant followed him, and the two were closeted for a long time. When Grant came out, his face was set in silence. A little later Babcock locked his desk and left the room. He never came back to the White House as a secretary, and thereafter occupied his other office blocks away as Superintendent of Public Buildings and Grounds. It has been said that Babcock for a time was restored to his old place. That is not true. His intimate relations with the President were not renewed.[1]

Nor did Grant forgive the men whom he believed had tried to bring the White House into the affair. Bristow to his mind was one of these. He had not liked the manner of Bristow's handling of the case, and in the progress of the investigation they had many differences.[2] Bristow was beset with enemies

[1] E. Rockwood Hoar, a hard-headed man and an acute judge of his fellows, knew Grant through and through and believed him strictly and thoroughly honest. "But, do you feel sure," he was asked, "that in all these suspicious transactions no money stuck to his fingers?" With a purposed anachronism to give emphasis to his quaint remark, he replied: "I would as soon think St. Paul had got some of the thirty pieces of silver." (Rhodes, vol. VII, p. 188.)

[2] "As for the President, those who know the most of the secret history of this move are freest to declare that in no instance did he do anything designed by him to protect the guilty or impede the course of justice. That his acts and his delays often accomplished both is now painfully apparent.

"At the same time it is true that whenever the ring, by false

who carried tales to Grant and Grant had critics who encouraged Bristow. The Secretary more than once resigned, but was induced by Grant to stay. And Grant once had made up his mind to ask for Bristow's resignation. After Babcock's acquittal Bristow was summoned before the investigating committee of the Democratic House, looking for material to use in the political campaign, but he declined to testify, claiming that proceedings of the Cabinet were privileged. Grant released him promptly: "I beg to relieve you from all obligations of secrecy on this subject, and desire not only that you may answer all questions relating to it, but that all members of my Cabinet and ex-members of my Cabinet may also be called upon to testify in regard to the same matter." Grant

representations, had developed serious Executive opposition to some feature of the prosecutions, or excited suspicion against the Secretary, the latter, until a late day, was always able to remove both, and disconcert the ring by a plain and courageous talk with the President. On these occasions General Grant always inclined to the right. But the constant recurrence of such explanations, and the infamous character of the plottings which made them necessary, continually impeded the prosecutions and discouraged the Secretary. It is also true that on several occasions when he had decided to resign, the President insisted upon his remaining, and for a time thereafter the contingency of a resignation for such causes seemed to render the President alive to the situation.

"Considering the nature and influence of the forces arrayed against the Secretary, and the facilities they enjoyed for constant access to the President, it is scarcely a matter of wonder that at times his eyes were blinded and his deepest prejudices aroused." (Henry V. Boynton in *North American Review*, October, 1876.)

was angry, too, because the Treasury sought to indict Logan, against whom there was no evidence, and to discredit others of his friends who were supposed to be in favor of a third term. Four days after the Cincinnati Convention, Bristow walked over to the White House, met the President at the foot of the stairs leading to the Executive offices, took from his pocket an envelope and handed it to Grant, who went his way without a word, entered his buggy at the door and took his usual drive. It was Bristow's resignation. A few days later Grant asked Postmaster-General Jewell to resign. He had sided strongly with Bristow all the time, and had had other differences with his official chief. The next day James N. Tyner, the Assistant Postmaster-General, was summoned to the White House. "Mr. Tyner," said the President, "I have decided to ask you for your resignation,"— and paused. Tyner reddened to the neck and bowed submissively. "And appoint you Postmaster-General," continued Grant.

The Democratic House elected in 1874 had set itself to work as soon as possible to get political material for the campaign then near at hand, which promised to be closely fought. Almost at once, when Congress met, the House began to poke around for scandal. Committees were soon raking every bureau

of administration for evidence of those Republican misdeeds concerning which the press had been so clamorous.[1] They had comparatively little time for ordinary legislation. After weeks of unrequited labor, one of the committees investigating expenditures in the War Department fell on the Belknap case. The Belknaps had been socially ambitious and the women of the family were extravagant. The Secretary had no money and his salary was small. His wife in trying to devise new means of income was told of the post traderships, which had for years been let by contract to favored bidders, and offered generous rewards to thrift. Belknap, who became Secretary after Rawlins, had not been in office long when Mrs. Belknap, visiting the New York house of Caleb P. Marsh, suggested that Marsh apply for a post tradership and give to her a share of the emoluments. Marsh made application for a rich post at Fort Sill, in Indian Territory, and was told to see the incumbent Evans,

[1] "Members of both parties have been represented in every great fraud yet discovered in Washington. The old Indian Ring of the days when Democracy ruled eclipsed all later efforts of Republican thieves. The palmy days of the Whiskey Ring were in Andrew Johnson's time; for then the spirit tax was higher. Crédit Mobilier had its Democratic participators; so of Black Friday and Pacific Mail; so of the District Ring; so of land jobs; and so of the Memphis and El Paso swindle. It was even impossible for Republican rascals to shake off Democrats when they came to rob the black man's savings-bank." (Henry V. Boynton in *North American Review*, October, 1876.)

who was then in Washington looking to keep the place. The two agreed that Marsh should not press for the position, but should receive from Evans as the price of his withdrawal $12,000 annually, to be paid him quarterly in advance. Payments began in 1870, and as each arrived one half was sent to Mrs. Belknap. There was no certain evidence that Belknap knew about the deal. It was said in his defense that he supposed the money to be income on investments, as his wife was understood to have some property before she married him. Mrs. Belknap died, and payments were continued as before, although they were reduced by half as Marsh's dividends from Evans were cut in two. In all, the Belknaps received $20,000. Heister Clymer, as chairman of the Committee on Expenditures in the War Department, reported on March 2, 1876, that at "the very threshold of their investigation" the committee had found uncontradicted evidence of Belknap's malfeasance, and recommended that he be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors while in office. The House at once adopted a resolution of impeachment by a unanimous vote.

Clymer's report was not presented until three o'clock that afternoon, but by ten o'clock that morning Belknap, anticipating what would happen, had resigned his place, and Grant immediately accepted

the resignation "with great regret." Proceedings in the Senate hung on till August, and conviction failed for lack of a two-thirds majority. Most of those who voted against conviction were said to have believed in Belknap's guilt, but as he was already separated from his office, doubted the Senate's jurisdiction in the case. Belknap took up his residence in Washington, and though in disgrace and poverty, he retained his personal popularity until his death. There still lurks around the Capital a tale of knightly sacrifice to save a woman's name.

When Cox resigned as Secretary of the Interior, because he thought the President did not sustain him in his fight against the politicians bent on spoils, Grant said the trouble was that Cox had made himself impossible, because he thought himself of too great consequence.[1] Columbus Delano, who took the place, was an Ohio lawyer of good repute at home, but lacking in the quality to circumvent the schemers who from the establishment of the department have sought its exploitation for pecuniary gain. Indian rings and land rings reveled in his administration, much to the public scandal, and at last, discouraged

[1] "The trouble was that General Cox thought the Interior Department was the whole government, and that Cox was the Interior Department. I had to point out to him in very plain language that there were three controlling branches of the Government, and that I was the head of one of these and would like so to be considered by the Secretary of the Interior." (Garland, p. 427.)

by his inability to handle his accumulating evils, he resigned. Chandler, of Michigan, had just been beaten for the Senate, and Grant gave him the place. Chandler did not stand well with the professional reformers, and they received the tidings with alarm. Some thought it meant the triumph of corruption, for Chandler, always forceful and direct, had bitterly denounced "reform" and treated its apostles with contempt. He was a Stalwart to the marrow, and a Republican of the unbending type, a sturdy Western pioneer, who had had a striking business success. He believed in spoils and patronage and all the ways of politics which men like Schurz and Godkin specially abhorred, but his administration stands as an example of effectiveness which none of his successors has surpassed. He drove the money-changers out of the department, squelched the rings, and cleaned the place where public plunder had intrenched itself for many years. He gave a new exemplification of practical reform.[1]

Grant was one of the few Presidents to whom has fallen the impressive responsibility of selecting a Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United

[1] Schurz in succeeding him was impelled to write: "I think I am expressing the general opinion of the country when I say you have succeeded in placing the Interior Department in far better condition than it has been in for years, and that the public is indebted to you for the very energetic and successful work you have performed." (*Life of Chandler*, p. 355.)

States. When the chance came to him upon the death of Chase in 1873, he went at it as if he were called upon to pick a chief of staff. It must be said that in this temper he did not differ much from other Presidents whose antecedents should have given them respect for the great functions of the court, but who for personal or party reasons have chosen justices without considering first of all preëminence on the bench or at the bar. The highest service done their country by Taft and Harrison was in the way of their upholding the noblest standards of the court. No poorer service can be done by any President than to lower that court's prestige; one who would consciously force on the bench a lawyer who, whether justly or unjustly had been charged with unprofessional practices, would thus prove his own unfitness for his place.

Grant was a layman with no pretensions in the law, and so might be excused some lack of sympathy with its traditions. Yet his selections for the bench were on the whole of a high order. Stanton, Hoar, Bradley, Strong, and Hunt were thoroughly equipped in legal knowledge for the court, and all but Stanton had a fine judicial temper. Stanton was named because the Senate asked for his appointment when he was at the point of death. Hoar, though an ideal judge at every point, was turned

down by the Senate in a pet. In each case, though in different ways, the Senate made of lawyers had treated lightly the traditions of the court. Why then should Grant hold it in greater sanctity?

His first choice fell on Conkling, his closest friend in politics, who had ability commensurate with the place and might have taken rank among the noted jurists of the time, not only as a lawyer, but in the dignity of bearing which marked him as a leader in his State and on the Senate floor. Conkling was lordly in his ways, and supercilious, which told against his popularity, a lover of good books who packed the classics in a capacious memory, an orator tremendously imposing in his way, whose speeches, carefully elaborated and rehearsed, have not survived the fame of their occasion. He was a Stalwart politician with no illusions or fine dreams, a firm believer in the doctrine of the spoils, and a past master in its practice.

He had, by his frank detestation of reformers and reform, roused the hostility of the independent press, and when word passed that Grant would like to have him as Chief Justice, a storm of censure fell upon Grant's head. Conkling refused the place because he much preferred the fray of politics. He was still young and had no wish to shrine himself upon the bench. Then Grant, for lack of something better close at hand, offered the place to George H. Wil-

liams, his Attorney-General. Williams, who hailed from Oregon, had little reputation as a lawyer, and had acquired the sobriquet of "Landaulet" because his family made social calls in a department carriage at the Government's expense. The Bar Association of New York remonstrated against his confirmation, as he was "wanting in those qualifications of intellect, experience, and reputation which are indispensable to uphold the dignity of the highest national court." The Senate dallied with the nomination, which was withdrawn at Williams's request.

Then Grant sent in the name of Caleb Cushing, a learned lawyer who had fame at the bar and in diplomacy and who had been the leading counsel of the United States in the Geneva Arbitration. But with all his intellectual astuteness, wide culture, and plausibility, Cushing's political and professional record was at fault. He had been listed as a Copperhead at the beginning of the war, and his professional probity was seriously in question, though Grant did not know this when he sent in his name. Among right-thinking men he was condemned, as Howe and Hamlin wrote, "because he lacked principle." For this reason, the nomination would have been rejected if it had been kept before the Senate, but Grant's supporters spared him this rebuff by offering in evidence a letter which Cushing wrote in March, 1861, to his "dear friend"

Jefferson Davis to recommend another friend for an appointment in the Confederate Civil Service. Giving this letter as an excuse, the Senate Republicans in caucus asked that the nomination be withdrawn, and this was done. Cushing's is almost the only case in the entire history of the court where the professional integrity of a nominee to that tribunal has been in question. Even to have the question raised should be sufficient reason to disqualify; for confirmation by a partisan majority cannot remove the stain; and one who takes his place upon the bench in face of charges not disproved shows himself by that act alone to be unworthy of the gown. Grant tried again for Conkling, but without success, and then named Morrison R. Waite, a little-known Ohio lawyer, whose only national repute had come from service among the counsel before the Geneva Tribunal. Waite was a modest man who stood well at the Ohio bar. He was not open to objection. His fourteen years of service as Chief Justice reflected credit on the court and fully justified his choice.

CHAPTER XLIV

THE DISPUTED ELECTION OF 1876

As the time drew near for choosing a new President, parties began to take account of stock. Grant, though the target for sustained abuse by the Democratic and the independent press, still stood high in the estimation of the people, and there was talk about another term. The faults of his Administration had been overemphasized, but the public was not fooled, though in the way of politics men looked for change. They had not been enamored of the Democratic House with which they had been saddled as the price of discontent. Its muck-raking propensities, its petty scramble for cheap spoils, its parade of party spawn like Doorkeeper Fitzhugh, boasting that he was "biger than old Grant," had made it something of a stench and failed to whet the country's appetite for more. But industry was paralyzed and times were out of joint.

Stalwart Republicans like Conkling, Cameron, and Logan felt that, while the party had lost ground, talk of a third term for Grant would keep the ranks intact. But Grant was tired of controversy and wanted to retire. Early in 1875 the Pennsylvania

Republicans were ready to endorse him for another term, and the President of their convention wrote him so. He made up his mind at once, called a meeting of the Cabinet to tell them what he was going to do, and mailed personally a letter in reply declaring:

"The idea that any man could elect himself President, or even renominate himself, is preposterous. Any man can destroy his chances for an office, but none can force an election or even a nomination. I am not nor have I ever been a candidate for renomination. I would not accept a nomination if it were tendered, unless it should come under such circumstances as to make it an imperative duty — circumstances not likely to arise."

The censorious said there was a string to this refusal, but it did the work.[1] Before the meeting of the National Republican Convention in June, 1876, the third-term talk had died away.

Blaine, the most fascinating figure of the day, out of touch with the Administration group, was mar-

[1] So persistent did the pressure become as time went on that, when Congress came together in December, a resolution in the House, presented by the Democrats and supported by 77 out of 88 Republicans, was passed as follows: "That, in the opinion of this House, the precedent established by Washington and other Presidents of the United States, in retiring from the presidential office after their second term, has become, by universal occurrence, a part of our republican system of government, and that any departure from this time-honored custom would be unwise, unpatriotic, and fraught with peril to our free institutions."

velously popular, but there were whispers that as Speaker he had been involved in questionable deals, and in spite of all he and his friends could say this led to his undoing. Conkling and Morton had their followers and each hoped for Grant's support, but he kept his hands off the convention. He had a secret notion that in case of a close struggle Fish was a likely compromise, and he wrote a letter to be used if Fish should have a chance.[1] Bristow was a strong favorite with the reformers. They could not stand with any one who stood with Grant, but they were equally at odds with Blaine. Hayes was the Ohio candidate — a man of unassuming merit with a record in the Civil

[1] "I took no part in the discussions antecedent to the Cincinnati Convention, because the candidates were friends, and any one, except Mr. Bristow, would have been satisfactory to me, would have had my heartiest support. Bristow I never would have supported for reasons that I may give at some other time in a more formal manner than mere conversation. Mr. Blaine would have made a good President. . . . I did not see any nomination for Blaine, Morton, or Conkling. Bristow was never a serious candidate, never even a probability. Looking around for a dark horse, in my own mind I fixed on Fish. Bayard Taylor said to me in Berlin that the three greatest statesmen of this age were Cavour, Gortchakoff, and Bismarck. I told him I thought there were four, that the fourth was Fish, and that he was worthy to rank with the others. This was the estimate I formed of Fish after eight years of Cabinet service, in which every year increased him in my esteem. So I wrote a letter to be used at the proper time — after the chances of Blaine, Morton, and Conkling were exhausted — expressing my belief that the nomination of Governor Fish would be a wise thing for the party. The time never came to use it. Fish never knew anything about this letter until after the whole convention was over." (Young, vol. II, pp. 273–75.)

War, who in 1874 had led the fight against inflation in his State, defeating "Fog Horn" Allen, Democratic candidate for Governor, thus for the time eliminating that financial heresy from the Democratic creed. There were other "favorite sons."

There is little doubt that Blaine would have been chosen but for a chain of circumstances which need not be detailed. The deadly enmity of Conkling and the dramatic series of disclosures skillfully staged to catch the public notice as the convention was about to meet make a rare chapter in the history of the time. Not even Conkling's hatred or the work of the machine could have defeated him had it not been for the pervasive dread that he might prove a vulnerable candidate. The elements opposed to Blaine at last combined on Hayes, and on the seventh ballot Hayes was nominated. No other name could have been found to cause so little disappointment among the friends of rival candidates, and when the Democrats a few days later named Tilden, who had been elected Governor of New York in 1874, there was a feeling that the lines were drawn for a respectable campaign. "There is very little to choose between the candidates," wrote Lowell, and many Liberal Republicans came back into the fold.[1]

[1] Henry Watterson has given us a charming picture of the Democratic candidate, who was his personal friend: —

"To his familiars, Mr. Tilden was a dear old bachelor, who lived

But the contest developed virulence. The Democrats were voluble against Republican misrule. "Reform is necessary!" was their cry, and "Turn the Rascals out!" Their platform called for the repeal of the Resumption Act, but Tilden was regarded as a friend of sound finance. The Republicans, deprived of the inflation issue on which they counted, began to "wave the bloody shirt" and to point the finger at the "Rebel Brigadiers" who, through "bull-dozing" and intimidation, they said, were conspiring to return to national control by joining to a "Solid South" the slums of the great cities of the North. Tilden had made false income tax returns during the Civil War; he was the first of presidential candidates to "tap a bar'l" or employ a "literary bureau." Zachariah

in a fine old mansion in Gramercy Park. Though sixty years of age he seemed in the prime of his manhood; a genial and overflowing scholar; a trained and earnest doctrinaire; a public-spirited, patriotic citizen, well known and highly esteemed, who had made fame and fortune at the bar, and had always been interested in public affairs.

"He was a dreamer with a genius for business, a philosopher yet an organizer. He pursued the tenor of his life with measured tread. . . . His home life was a model of order and decorum, his house as unchallenged as a bishopric, its hospitality, though select, profuse and untiring. . . . He was a lover of books rather than music and art, but also of horses and dogs and out-of-door activity. His tastes were frugal, and their indulgence was sparing. He took his wine not plenteously, though he enjoyed it . . . and sipped his whiskey and water on occasion with a pleased composure, redolent of discursive talk. . . . His judgment was believed to be infallible." (*Century*, May, 1913.)

Chandler was chairman of the committee in charge of the Republican campaign and William E. Chandler, who had been secretary in the two preceding campaigns, was now, as a member of the Committee from New Hampshire, specially assisting him — two brainy and courageous managers, who knew no sentiment in politics except success, and who, while representative of different Republican schools, were both intensely loyal in the party faith. Abram S. Hewitt was the Democratic chairman, but Tilden was himself a deft political manipulator and really handled the campaign.

It looked on Election night as though the Democrats had won, and with two conspicuous exceptions, every newspaper in the United States made that announcement, basing this judgment on the fact that Tilden had carried New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Indiana, and the assumption that he had the "Solid South," which would have given him a safe majority. And now there comes a passage in our history hardly surpassed in fiction.

William E. Chandler, who had gone home to vote, arrived at headquarters in the Fifth Avenue Hotel just before daylight to find the place deserted, the other officers of the committee having gone to bed convinced that Hayes had lost. He met there John C. Reid, news editor of the "New York Times,"

with information that the late returns bore indications of possible Republican success, and by a process of swift calculation perceived that the result depended on the votes of Florida, Louisiana, South Carolina, Oregon, and California. He sent at once to party leaders in each State dispatches of which the following is typical: "Hayes is elected if we have carried South Carolina, Florida and Louisiana. Can you hold your State? Answer immediately."

Here began a controversy which put our form of government to a crucial test. Zachariah Chandler later in the morning endorsed the action of the younger Chandler, announcing that "if the dispatches are correct, and he has no reason to doubt them, Governor Hayes is elected beyond a doubt," and a dispatch was sent broadcast which has become historic: "Hayes has 185 electoral votes and is elected." [1]

[1] "On election day in the afternoon I went from Concord to Boston and on to New York by night train, reaching the Fifth Avenue Hotel a little before complete daylight. Mr. Vilas at the clerk's desk told me that Tilden was elected. I said I could not believe it and went around to the committee room No. 1. There was no one there. In the hallway I met John C. Reid, of the *New York Times*, just arriving. He told me that if we had carried South Carolina and Florida, also one or two small far Western States, we had saved the election. We went into the committee room, I examined the various dispatches on the deserted desks and then went up to Senator Chandler's room and with difficulty aroused him from sleep and told him what we hoped, and asked him if he knew to whom he had been telegraphing in several

There were days of great excitement, claims and counter-claims. Hayes must have all the votes of the disputed States to win. It was known almost at once that Oregon and California were safe, and that South Carolina was Republican on the face of the returns. As Chamberlain, the Governor, was candidate for reëlection, it was assumed that in that State there would be no change. Chamberlain, remembering the "Hamburg Massacre" and fearing election riots, had asked for troops. Grant had sent them, and they were now at the state capital.[1]

States the night before. He was very weary and gave me little information and told me to do what I thought best. Returning to the committee room I wrote various dispatches, signing to some Mr. Chandler's name and to others my own, and Mr. Reid took them downtown to send by telegraph. Then I went to breakfast and came back to the committee room about the time that various callers began to arrive and shortly Mr. Chandler came down. We discussed the situation and he sent out his famous telegram, 'Hayes has 185 votes and is elected.' Our spirits arose during the day, and in the afternoon there was a consultation as to what should be done. Among other plans adopted it was decided that I must go south." (Statement by William E. Chandler, hitherto unpublished.)

[1] "In no case, except that of South Carolina, was the number of soldiers in any State increased in anticipation of the election, saving that twenty-four men and an officer were sent from Fort Foote to Petersburg, Virginia, where disturbances were threatened prior to the election.

"No troops were stationed at the voting-places. In Florida and in Louisiana, respectively, the small number of soldiers already in the said States were stationed at such points in each State as were most threatened with violence, where they might be available as a posse for the officer whose duty it was to preserve the

On the face of the returns, Tilden had a majority in Louisiana and Hayes in Florida, but "the face of the returns" was an uncertain problem at that juncture, and party leaders on both sides sped South, while those at home awaited the result with tense solicitude.

On Grant rested the responsibility for keeping peace. He did not wait for violence to develop. On November 10, three days after the election, he sent to Sherman, the General of the Army, this dispatch: "Instruct General Augur in Louisiana, and General Ruger in Florida, to be vigilant with the force at their command to preserve peace and good order, and to see that the proper and legal boards of canvassers are unmolested in the performance of their duties. Should there be any grounds of suspicion of a fraudulent count on either side, it should be reported and denounced at once. No man worthy of the office of President should be willing to hold it if counted in or placed there by fraud. Either party can afford to be disappointed in the result. The country cannot afford to have the result tainted by the suspicion of illegal or false returns."

peace and prevent intimidation of voters. Such a disposition of the troops seemed to me reasonable and justified by law and precedent, while its omission would have been inconsistent with the constitutional duty of the President of the United States 'to take care that the laws be faithfully executed.'" (Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. VII, pp. 419–20.)

On the face of the returns it appeared that Florida had gone for Hayes by a plurality of 48 votes, a narrow margin, which the Board of State Canvassers increased into a plurality of 925 on the ground of frauds and irregularities. Only by leaning backward could the Republican board have given the State to Tilden. The real contention was in Louisiana, where on the face of the returns, the Democratic electors had majorities ranging from 6300 to 8957, and where the returning board, having the final word, was the same board which made the trouble in 1874 and had been condemned by two congressional committees.

The chairman was J. Madison Wells, the former Governor, whom Sheridan had characterized ten years before as a political trickster and a dishonest man. The three other members of the board were of his moral stripe; and two of them were negroes. All were Republicans, the only Democrat having resigned two years before, leaving a vacancy which had not been filled. With such material, almost any result might be expected, and the country centered its attention on New Orleans. "Visiting Statesmen" were quickly on the ground, Grant having invited prominent Republicans like Sherman, Garfield, Kasson, Stanley Matthews, and Lew Wallace, while Hewitt asked as many Democrats, among them Palmer, Trumbull, Randall, Curtis, Julian, and

Watterson. Committees of these "Visiting Statesmen" attended the meetings of the returning board and on December 6, the board announced that Hayes electors had been chosen by majorities varying from 4626 to 4712, securing this result by throwing out 13,250 Democratic votes and 2042 Republican. The final sessions of the board were held in secret and it was claimed by Hewitt that Wells and his associates tried to sell out to the Democrats for cash. No evidence was ever offered. A number of the Republican "Visiting Statesmen" on the day of the return signed a statement which was sent to Grant giving the names of parishes along the Mississippi and Arkansas border where outrages had been perpetrated and where, "when violence and intimidation were inefficient, murder, maiming, and mutilation were resorted to." The Democratic statesmen signed a letter to Hewitt, in which they said, "The fact that there was no riot or bloodshed in any locality, no force, intimidation, or violence in any parish in Louisiana where both parties voted, gives strong presumption that there was no valid excuse for the Republican voters in absenting themselves from the polls, but they were purposely kept away to subserve partisan ends." Of the Democratic "Visiting Statesmen" Palmer, Trumbull, and Julian were formerly Republicans. "New converts are proverbially bitter

and unfair towards those they have recently left," remarks John Sherman.

In a letter to Hayes just prior to the determination by the returning board, Sherman had written of the bull-dozed parishes: "It seems more like the history of hell than of civilized and Christian communities. . . . That you would have received at a fair election a large majority in Louisiana, no honest man can question."[1]

When the electors came to ballot in the several States on December 6, two days after Congress met, Hayes had 185 duly authenticated votes, Tilden 184. The Democrats protested that the four votes from Florida and the eight from Louisiana rightfully belonged to Tilden. They also claimed one from Oregon, where a Republican elector, Watts, was held to be ineligible under the Constitution, being a deputy postmaster. If this claim were granted, Tilden would still have 185 votes even though the two Southern States were credited to Hayes.

Had both branches of Congress been Republican the contest would have ended here, and Hayes would have been declared elected in due course, perhaps with oratorical objection on the part of the minority. But the Senate, Republican by a majority of 17, was offset by a Democratic House with a majority of 74.

[1] *Recollections*, p. 558.

The Constitution and the statutes were inadequate to meet this situation. Republicans, among them Hayes himself, contended that when the Constitution said, "The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and the House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted," it implied that when there were two certificates from a State, the President of the Senate must decide which one was valid, count the votes and declare the result; that it was a mere ministerial duty; and that Congress had no right to interfere.

But there had been adopted in 1865 a joint rule providing that "No vote objected to shall be counted except by the concurrent votes of the two Houses." The rule had been rescinded by the Senate almost unanimously, and it was not now regarded by the Senate as in force. Should the House, insisting on the rule, reject the votes of Florida and Louisiana, Tilden would have a majority. The Senate could not retaliate by rejecting votes of other Southern States, because, in that event, there would be no election and the Democratic House would then proceed under the Constitution to elect Tilden in a vote by States.

There seemed to be no common ground. Republicans throughout the country, with few exceptions, believed that whatever might be the technicalities

about returning boards, Hayes was entitled to the office, because if there had been a fair election he would undoubtedly have carried all the disputed States with others in the South. The Democrats were even more vehement in contending that they had chosen the electors in Florida and Louisiana and made much also of the undisputed but irrelevant circumstance that throughout the country Tilden electors had received a majority of 300,000 in the popular vote.

There was wild talk by frenzied partisans; all sorts of tales had currency; it was said that Grant aspired to dictatorial power. There were reports of Southern rifle clubs to march on Washington to help seat Tilden; and Tilden "minute men" were said to be enrolling through the North — an Army of Democratic veterans of the Civil War. Any mad story, no matter how impossible, was sure to have its dupes, and there was need of a firm hand in Washington. Grant was self-contained and imperturbable. He used all his influence to bring the embittered factions into line, and so insure a peaceful settlement of the dispute.

McCrary, of Iowa, who afterwards was made by Hayes a member of the Cabinet, introduced a resolution in the House for a committee to act in conjunction with any similar committee appointed by the Senate to report without delay a measure through

which might be removed "all doubts and uncertainty" as to the manner of determining questions as to the legality and validity of returns, "to the end that the votes may be counted and the result declared by a tribunal whose authority none can question and whose decision all will accept as final."[1]

Grant knew about this resolution in advance and summoning Hewitt to the White House secured his acquiescence in the compromise, which promptly passed both House and Senate without debate. Edmunds was chairman for the Senate, Henry B. Payne, of Ohio, for the House.

The committees unanimously reported a bill for an Electoral Commission, to be composed of five Senators, five members of the House, and four Justices of the Supreme Court, who were to choose another Justice of the Court, thus making a commission of fifteen. The bill provided that "No electoral vote or votes from any State from which but one return has been received shall be rejected except by the affirmative vote of the two Houses." In the case of States from which there was more than one return "all such returns and papers should be submitted to the judgment and decision, as to which is the true and lawful electoral vote of such State," of the Electoral Commission. The decision of the Commission

[1] Haworth, *The Hayes-Tilden Disputed Election*, p. 190.

could be overthrown only by the concurrence of both Houses acting separately.

Edmunds, Conkling, and Thurman delivered arguments for the bill which take high rank. Morton, Blaine, and Sherman antagonized it. They said it was unconstitutional, but their real reason was the fear that it would work unfavorably to Hayes. The bill was carried in both branches by Democratic votes; 26 Democrats and 21 Republicans voted for it in the Senate, 16 Republicans and one Democrat against. In the House the ayes were 159 Democrats and 32 Republicans; the noes were 18 Democrats and 68 Republicans. It was expected by both parties that the Commission would be more likely to favor Tilden than Hayes.

On January 29, Grant signed the bill and at the same time sent a virile message announcing his approval. "It is the highest duty of the lawmaking power," he said, "to provide in advance a constitutional, orderly, and just method of executing the Constitution in this most interesting and critical of its provisions. . . . It must be that one of the two candidates has been elected; and it would be deplorable to witness an irregular controversy as to which of the two should receive or which should continue to hold the office. . . . The country is agitated. It needs and it desires peace and quiet and

harmony between all parties and all sections. Its industries are arrested, labor unemployed, capital idle, and enterprise paralyzed by reason of the doubt and anxiety attending the uncertainty of a double claim to the Chief Magistracy of the Nation. It wants to be assured that the result of the election will be accepted without resistance from the supporters of the disappointed candidate, and that its highest officer shall not hold his place with a questioned title of right."

During these strenuous days, when history was in the making and his own future with his country's was at stake, Tilden withdrew himself into his cloistered sanctuary in Gramercy Park, feebly and stealthily whispering now and then a futile scheme. While others struggled with the tremendous problem, he "devoted more than a month to the preparation of a complete history of the electoral counts from the foundation of the Government, to show it to have been the unbroken usage of Congress, not of the President of the Senate, to count the electoral votes," a work which could have been prepared almost as well by a skilled lawyer's clerk.[1] He was inadequate to a great opportunity, and had he been made President would have been a weak executive, of the Buchanan type.

[1] Bigelow, *Life of Tilden.*

The Democrats in Congress were fated to a cruel disappointment. The Justices of the Supreme Court indicated in the bill were Clifford, Strong, Miller, and Field, representing four great geographical divisions, and equally divided in their political beliefs. It was agreed that they would choose as the fifth Justice, David Davis, who had once been a Republican, but who had wavered in the faith; but at the last minute, just before the bill was laid before the House, word came from Illinois, where the Legislature had been for weeks in deadlock over a second term for Logan in the Senate, that the Democrats had joined the independents and elected Davis. Thus he was barred. The four Justices selected Bradley in his stead, a jurist with a delicate sense of honor, and of singularly fine grain.

The Senate chose as members of the Commission Edmunds, Morton, Frelinghuysen, Thurman, and Bayard; the House, Payne, Hunton, Abbott, Hoar, and Garfield. When the joint session met on February 1, all went smoothly till Florida was reached, with three certificates, and on objection that case went to the Electoral Commission which held its sessions in the room of the Supreme Court. Here was to be a precedent for all the other cases. Could the Commission go back of the returns? After a week of arguments and secret sessions, the Commission held

that it could not. The interest in Bradley's opinion was intense. Later he wrote that it "expressed the honest conclusion to which I had arrived, and which, after a full consideration of the whole matter, seemed to me the only satisfactory conclusion of the question." "It seems to me," he said, "that the two Houses of Congress, in proceeding with the count, are bound to recognize the determination of the State Board of Canvassers as the act of the State and as the most authentic evidence of the appointment made by the State; and that while they may go behind the Governor's certificate, if necessary, they can only do so for the purpose of ascertaining whether he has truly certified the results to which the board arrived. They cannot sit as a court of appeals on the action of that board."

The decision of the Commission was reported to the joint session. The Senate retired to its chamber and ratified the decision; the House refused ratification, and by the terms of the act creating the Commission, the two Houses not having concurred in overthrowing its decision, the decision stood. There were similar proceedings with regard to Louisiana, Oregon, and South Carolina. The Democrats became more angry, as the count progressed from day to day. They were convinced that they were being swindled out of what was fairly theirs, and

blindly reaching for a victim of their wrath, they hit on Justice Bradley and rained denunciation on his head. For a time he was the most detested man in the United States. One would have thought that he had sought this opportunity to perpetrate a fraud, instead of shrinking from the lot that fell to him. No graver instance of injustice could have been conceived. The cabalistic number 8 to 7 was bandied back and forth and Bradley's name became a byword and reproach.

Yet Bradley was merely one of a tribunal. There was no better reason for upbraiding him than for denouncing Strong and Miller, his associates. He was not chosen as the umpire; he was an individual member of the Commission clothed with the same responsibility as the rest — a responsibility which he had looked forward to with dread. Besides, there is good ground for the belief that Davis would have done as he did in his place.[1]

Sixty Democratic Representatives, most of them from the North and West, tried by a filibuster to delay

[1] "The day after the inauguration of Hayes, my kinsman Stanley Matthews said to me, 'You people wanted Judge Davis. So did we. I will tell you what I know, that Judge Davis was safe for us as Judge Bradley. We preferred him because he carried more weight.' The subsequent career of Judge Davis in the Senate gives conclusive proof that this was true." (Henry Watterson, "The Hayes-Tilden Contest for the Presidency," in the *Century* for May, 1913.)

the count until March 4, when Congress would expire by limitation, leaving the Presidency hanging in the air. But as soon as the Florida decision foreshadowed the result, 42 Southern Democrats "solemnly pledged themselves to each other upon their sacred honor to oppose all attempts to frustrate the counting of the votes for President." Speaker Randall, with patriotic firmness, held the House in hand till, at the close of an all-night session, at four o'clock in the morning of March 2, the count was finished and the President *pro tempore* declared Hayes elected.

The 4th of March was Sunday, and to save further complications Hayes was quietly sworn in that day by Chief Justice Waite, with Grant and Fish as witnesses. On Monday he was formally inaugurated as peacefully as though there had been no controversy. Grant rode to the Capitol by his side.

There is no doubt the country as a whole believed that Tilden should have been declared elected; the question will always be open to dispute. The North had tired of talk about intimidation in the South and were beginning to lose all interest in the negro now that it was found that he could not exercise without support the right of suffrage which had been imposed upon him. The violence and fraud in the back parishes of Louisiana were only vaguely pictured in the public consciousness, while the fact of throwing out

13,000 Democratic votes by the returning board was obvious to all. There is no reasonable doubt that, with a fair election, more Southern States than those finally accorded him would have been carried for Hayes, and it is not forgotten that the South, by reason of increased representation due to the suppressed negro vote, had 35 votes in the Electoral College with which to overcome Republican majorities in Northern States. There was great clamor at the time and for years after about a "stolen Presidency," and Hayes is thought by many fair-minded men to-day to have been a fraudulent incumbent; but with strict accuracy it must be said that he was legally elected. If there was "stealing," it was not in Washington. If the Electoral Commission, for which the Democrats were willing at the time of its creation to accept responsibility, by its decision made it possible for Congress to count the contesting Democratic electors, there would have been no talk of fraud. Yet there is no fair ground for saying that the minority of the Commission were right, and the majority wrong. It happened that all voted along party lines. If there was "stealing," it must have been in Florida and Louisiana, and in the multitude of testimony it will always remain a question there as to who committed the first theft.

Before the count of electoral votes had been com-

pleted, Ohio friends of Hayes, perhaps without his knowledge, had told Southern Democrats that after his nomination he would not continue military intervention in the South, but this assurance had no bearing on the ultimate result.[1] Hayes had hardly taken his seat before he sent for Chamberlain and Wade Hampton, who had set up rival governments in South Carolina, and with the consent of both withdrew the federal troops from the state capital, leaving the Hampton Government in control.

In Louisiana, where Packard and Nicholls were still contesting the governorship and where Packard had made a better showing in the returns than Hayes, the troops were also withdrawn, and the Nicholls Government, representing white supremacy, assumed control of state affairs. Grant, just before he went out of office, had been appealed to by the Packard Government, but had replied that public opinion in the North would no longer tolerate military interference.[2]

[1] The Wormley Conference.

[2] EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D.C., March 1, 1877.

To Gov. S. B. Packard,
New Orleans, La.: —

In answer to your dispatch of this date, the President directs me to say that he feels it his duty to state frankly that he does not believe public opinion will longer support the maintenance of the State Government in Louisiana by the use of the military, and that he must concur in this manifest feeling. The troops will hereafter, as in the past, protect life and property from mob vio-

The time had manifestly come for the new order in the South, which has ever since prevailed.

Grant's attitude throughout this time of general upheaval had been a powerful factor in preserving peace, and helping a harmonious solution. To him is due a great share of credit for creating the Electoral Commission and assuring acquiescence in the result.[1]

lence when the State authorities fail, but during the remaining days of his official life they will not be used to establish or to pull down either claimant for control of the State. It is not his purpose to recognize either claimant.

C. C. SNIFFEN, *Secretary.*

[1] George W. Childs tells in his recollections how Grant sent for him in Washington and said: "I have spoken of an Electoral Commission, and the leaders of the party are opposed to it, which I am sorry to see. They say that if an Electoral Commission is appointed you might as well count in Mr. Tilden. I would sooner have Mr. Tilden than that the Republicans should have a President who could be stigmatized as a fraud. If I were Mr. Hayes I would not have it unless it was settled in some way outside the Senate. This matter is opposed by the leading Republicans in the House and Senate and throughout the country." . . . I named a leading Democrat in the House, . . . whom it would be well for General Grant to see in the matter, and the suggestion was acted on. I sent for this gentleman to come to the White House, and put the dilemma to him in President Grant's name. . . .

The answer at once was that the Democrats would favor it, and it was through that gentleman and General Grant that the matter was carried through. He sent for Mr. Conkling and said, with deep earnestness: "This matter is a serious one, and the people feel it very deeply. I think this Electoral Commission ought to be appointed." Conkling answered: "Mr. President, Senator Morton (who was then the acknowledged leader of the Senate) is opposed to it and opposed to your efforts; but if you wish the Commission carried I can do it." He said: "I wish it done." Mr. Conkling took hold of the matter and put it through. The

"Nothing could have been wiser than the Electoral Commission," he said a little later, "and nothing could be more unpatriotic than the attempt to impair the title of Mr. Hayes as fraudulent. There was a good deal of cowardice and knavery in that effort. Mr. Hayes is just as much President as any of his predecessors. . . . I never believed there would be a blow, but I had so many warnings that I made all my preparations. . . . I was quite prepared for any contingency. Any outbreak would have been suddenly and summarily stopped. . . . If Tilden was declared elected, I intended to hand him over the reins, and see him peacefully installed. . . . I would not have raised my finger to have put Hayes in, if in so doing I did Tilden the slightest injustice. All I wanted was for the legal powers to declare a President, to keep the machine running, allay the passions of the canvass, and allow the country peace. . . . I felt, personally, that I had been vouchsafed a special deliverance. It was a great blessing to the country. . . . We had peace, and order, and observance of the law, and the world had a new illustration of the dignity and efficiency of the Republic. This we owe to the wisdom and foresight of the men who formed the Electoral Commission, Democrats as well as Republicans."

leading Democrat I have spoken of took the initiative in the House and Mr. Conkling in the Senate.

CHAPTER XLV

THE ADMINISTRATION IN REVIEW

Divested of his rank and office, Grant found himself once more the looming figure of the time, as he had been directly after Appomattox. The venom of attack was dissipated with the disappearance of official power. There was a quick rebound in public sentiment as often happens with a people jealous of those on whom they have conferred supreme authority. There was no more talk of Cæsarism, nepotism, or corruption. The folly of the first was obvious now that the "Cæsar" pictured by the party press was a plain citizen seemingly thankful to return to private life; the silliness of the attacks on nepotism was manifest now that the little flock of office-holding relatives found their petty titles and emoluments at the disposal of a President on whom they had no claim; as for corruption and gift-taking, here was Grant at the close of sixteen years of service in such financial straits that he was puzzled how to get along.

True, he had houses presented by the people, but they were not endowed, and in them he could not afford to live; he had a farm at Gravois, near St. Louis, the site of the Dent homestead, on which he

had spent borrowed money and which had never paid; he had used up his salary while President, and though he had a little income from investments, he would have been far better off if he had spent the sixteen years in trade. Those who had been most virulent in their attacks upon him for eight years now felt that they had done him wrong. He was again the idol of his countrymen, who at last could comprehend the merits of an administration, thrown in the shadow for a time by superficial faults. They realized how they had leaned on him during the months when the succession was in doubt, and it began to dawn upon them that the United States during his term as President had held high rank, that there had never been a period in our history when an American citizen could count so surely on world-wide respect, and that we now stood higher in the world's regard than at any other moment since the Government began.

No President ever had a firmer or more consistent foreign policy than Grant. Fish is entitled to all the credit which belongs to him and which Grant himself was always generous to bestow, but Fish alone could not have carried through the diplomatic triumphs which shed on Grant's Administration their resplendency. Fish was far-seeing, firm, and sensible, but he would have been quite futile without Grant. It was

the steady backing of the White House that made it possible for Fish to carry through his foreign policy, and in most instances the programme was as truly Grant's as his.

A case in point is the Virginius incident early in the second term, which might have brought on war with Spain if badly managed, but which was handled with such firmness and discretion that without war we won in our contention and held our national respect. The Virginius was an American-built steamer which for some years had been employed at intervals in landing military expeditions to aid the Cuban insurrection. On October 31, 1873, while bound from Kingston in Jamaica to a Cuban port, flying our flag but carrying war material, it was captured by a Spanish man-of-war and taken into Santiago. She had on board one hundred and fifty-five passengers and crew, most of them Cubans planning to join the insurrection, but some of them citizens of the United States. Early in November fifty-three of the passengers and crew were sentenced by court martial and shot, among them eight of our citizens. "If it prove that an American citizen has been wrongfully executed, this Government will require most ample reparation," Fish promptly cabled Sickles, our Minister to Spain. Castelar, the Spanish President, at once and no doubt with sincerity expressed regret.

The country was ablaze with wrath. The press demanded swift revenge. Mass meetings heard hot speeches. Fish was too slow. The people east of the Missouri were for immediate hostilities. War seemed at hand.

But Fish, sustained by Grant, proceeded cautiously. He was not swept off his feet by clamor, but he had lost no time in stating our position and he did not now dally with well-phrased diplomatic notes. "Unless abundant reparation shall have been voluntarily tendered," he cabled Sickles on November 14, "you will demand the restoration of the Virginius and the release and delivery to the United States of the persons captured on her who have not yet been massacred, and that the flag of the United States be saluted in the port of Santiago and the signal punishment of the officials who were concerned in the capture of the vessel and the execution of the passengers and crew. In case of refusal of satisfactory reparation, written twelve days from this date, you will . . . close your legation and leave Madrid."

Feeling ran high in Madrid as well as in the United States, and Sickles was at times hysterical, but Grant and Fish retained their poise. Fish took the business up in Washington with Polo, the Spanish Minister, and these two reached a satisfactory agreement. The Virginius and her survivors were to be restored

immediately. Spain was to have an opportunity to prove that the Virginius at the time of capture was not entitled to fly our colors, and if unable to prove this before December 25, she must salute our flag. Officials guilty of illegal acts of violence toward citizens of the United States were to be punished.

On December 18, the Virginius, flying our flag, was delivered to our navy at Bahia Honda in Cuba, but while on her way to New York sank in a storm. Two days later the surviving prisoners were surrendered and reached New York in safety. Investigation showed that the Virginius when captured was improperly carrying the American flag and consequently there was no salute. In the hands of Grant and Fish the whole affair was handled with dignity and self-respect. Pending negotiations, Grant put the navy on a war footing, "trusting to Congress and the public opinion of the American people to justify my action."[1]

"I would sum up the policy of the Administration," Grant had said in his second annual message, "to be a thorough enforcement of every law; a faithful collection of every tax provided for; economy in the disbursement of the same; a prompt payment of every debt of the nation; a reduction of taxes as rapidly as the requirements of the country will admit;

[1] Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. VII, p. 242.

reductions of taxation and tariff to be so arranged as to afford the greatest relief to the greatest number; honest and fair dealings with all other peoples, to the end that war with all its blighting consequences may be avoided, but without surrendering any right or obligation due to us; a reform in the treatment of Indians and in the whole civil service of the country; and finally, in securing a pure, untrammeled ballot, where every man entitled to cast a vote may do so just once at each election, without fear of molestation or proscription on account of his political faith, nationality, or color."

And at the beginning of his second term he thus outlined his purposes in his inaugural: "My efforts in the future will be directed to the restoration of good feeling between the different sections of our common country; to the restoration of our currency to a fixed value as compared with the world's standard of value — gold — and, if possible to a par with it; to the construction of cheap routes of transit throughout the land; to the end that the products of all may find a market and leave a living remuneration to the producer; to the maintenance of friendly relations with all our neighbors, and with distant nations; to the reëstablishment of our commerce and share in the carrying trade upon the ocean; to the encouragement of such manufacturing industries as

can be economically pursued in this country to the end that the exports of home products and industries may pay for our imports — the only sure method of returning to and maintaining a specie basis; to the elevation of labor; and by a humane course to bring the aborigines of the country under the benign influences of education and civilization."

No programme was ever more faithfully carried out by any President. We have seen how firmly he upheld American rights abroad; how he was first in history to establish arbitration in the settlement of international disputes; how he stood for the Monroe Doctrine in all his dealings with other American Republics. He was equally firm with Mexico, with Spain, with France, with England, respecting no distinction between weak and powerful governments when national dignity was involved. He demanded the recall of Catacazy, the Russian Minister, who had abused American officials and had interfered obnoxiously in the relations between the United States and other powers. "It was impossible," he said to Congress, "with self-respect or with a just regard to the dignity of the country, to permit Mr. Catacazy to continue to hold intercourse with this Government." He settled boundary disputes with Great Britain, and claims with the American Republics, took up with Spain and England questions of

extradition, securing from Spain the extradition of "Boss" Tweed who had escaped to Cuba; would have taken over San Domingo while the time was ripe; maintained peace with all the world amid grave international problems, yet never thought to make a sanctimonious merit of having kept the country out of war.

Congress interfered with his ambition to establish firmly a reformed civil service, but he gave reform an impetus which has continued to this day. He enforced the laws, maintained economy in government expenditures, lowered taxes, and reduced the national debt. That he could not secure a pure, untrammeled ballot was not his fault. He tried; but here he ran against impossible conditions which no Executive could hope to overcome.

He urged in every way the building-up of an American merchant marine. "It is a national humiliation," he said, "that we are now compelled to pay from twenty to thirty million dollars annually . . . to foreigners for doing the work which should be done by American vessels, American-built, American-owned, and American-manned."[1]

"A revival of shipbuilding, and particularly of iron steamship building," he said again, — for he kept returning to this theme, — "is of vast impor-

[1] Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. VII, p. 53.

tance to our national prosperity. . . . I would be willing to see a great departure from the usual course of Government in supporting what might usually be termed private enterprise. I would not suggest as a remedy direct subsidy to American steamship lines, but would suggest the direct offer of ample compensation for carrying the mails between Atlantic seaboard cities and would extend this liberality to vessels carrying the mails to South American States and to Central America and Mexico, and would pursue the same policy from our Pacific seaports to foreign seaports on the Pacific. . . ."[1]

He was the first President to call emphatic attention to the peril of an ignorant foreign-born electorate, lacking in knowledge of the significance of our institutions. "The compulsory support of the free school and the disfranchisement of all who cannot read and write the English language, after a fixed probation, would meet my hearty approval. . . . Foreigners coming to this country to become citizens, who are educated in their own language, should acquire the requisite knowledge of ours during the necessary residence to obtain naturalization. If they did not take interest enough in our language to acquire sufficient knowledge of it to enable them to study the institutions and laws of the country intelligently, I

[1] Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. VII, pp. 301–02.

would not confer upon them the right to make such laws or to select those who do." [1]

He suggested a readjustment of the tariff "so as to increase the revenue, and at the same time decrease the number of articles upon which duties are levied. Those articles which enter into our manufactures and are not produced at home, it seems to me, should be entered free. Those articles of manufacture which we produce a constituent part of, but do not produce the whole, that part which we do not produce should enter free also." [2]

When Grant entered on the Presidency, to use his own words "the country was laboring under an enormous debt contracted in the suppression of the rebellion; and taxation was so oppressive as to discourage production." There was danger of a foreign war. Not only was the war averted by the Treaty of Washington, establishing the principle of arbitration, but in the first seven years of his Administration taxes were reduced by nearly $300,000,000, and the national debt by $435,000,000. By refunding operations the annual interest on the debt was reduced from $130,000,000 to $100,000,000, an adverse balance of trade amounting to $130,000,000 was transferred to a balance of $120,000,000 in our favor.

[1] Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. VII, p. 411.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 293–94.

Provision had been made for the resumption of specie payments and inflation, which was rampant, had been dealt a deadly blow.

For one who entered on his service with no political experience whatever, who was a stranger to the ways of statecraft and diplomacy, Grant's Presidency presents a record of success almost as striking though less dramatic than his career in war. His messages, from which citations have been made, were mostly written with his own hand, and he was always in close touch with the innumerable important questions in which the various members of his Cabinet were immediately concerned.

Considering all these things there is a needless note of pathos in the personal reference which he incorporated in his last message in December, 1876: —

"It was my fortune, or misfortune, to be called to the office of Chief Executive without any previous political training. From the age of seventeen I had never even witnessed the excitement attending a presidential campaign but twice antecedent to my own candidacy, and at but one of them was I eligible as a voter.

"Under such circumstances it is but reasonable to suppose that errors of judgment must have occurred. Even had they not, differences of opinion between the Executive, bound by an oath to the strict per-

formance of his duties, and writers and debaters, must have arisen. It is not necessarily evidence of blunder on the part of the Executive because there are these differences of views. Mistakes have been made, as all can see, and I admit, but it seems to me oftener in the selections made in the assistants appointed to aid in carrying out the various duties of administering the government — in nearly every case selected without a personal acquaintance with the appointee, but upon recommendation of the representatives chosen directly by the people. It is impossible, where so many trusts are to be allotted, that the right parties should be chosen in every instance. History shows that no Administration from the time of Washington to the present has been free from these mistakes. But I leave comparisons to history, claiming only that I have acted in every instance from a conscientious desire to do what was right, constitutional, within the law, and for the very best interests of the whole people. Failures have been errors of judgment, not of intent." [1]

In constructive achievements, coming as it did directly after the demoralization of the war and the upset of traditions due to Lincoln's military measures in that imperative emergency, Grant's Administration ranks second only to that of Washington, who

[1] Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. VII, pp. 399–400.

had to set the Government in motion under the Constitution. He might safely "leave comparisons to history." If we except the baneful Southern problem which was bequeathed to him, and where his fault, if fault there was, lay in the rigid execution of the law, it would be hard to place the finger now on an executive policy approved by him which subsequent experience has condemned.

CHAPTER XLVI

THE TRIP AROUND THE WORLD — THE THIRD TERM

A FEW weeks of adulation and then Grant went abroad. He sailed from Philadelphia in middle May. His daughter Nellie, who had married Algernon Sartoris in the White House, was living in her husband's home in England. Beyond seeing her he had few plans.

Great crowds bade him good-bye in Philadelphia, thronging the wharves from which he sailed with Mrs. Grant and Jesse, his youngest boy. To his amazement even greater crowds were at the wharves in Liverpool. Ten thousand Englishmen pushed through the custom house to welcome him. He was presented with the freedom of the city, both at Liverpool and Manchester, and his run toward London was like a triumph. In London the experience was repeated. English tradespeople and workingmen held him in higher honor than he thought. To them he was the world's most famous living general, personifying in their eyes the marvel of democracy.

Shortly, the scions of nobility took him in hand.

When Fillmore and Van Buren were visitors in England they had little more attention than any other private citizen and trudged along complacently at the tail end of the line, but Grant, through some diplomacy by our Minister in London, was treated as a former sovereign — not that he cared for it especially, but Pierrepont felt that as a former President of the United States he must not be slighted. Whatever those at home might think about it, the Englishman familiar with court etiquette would size it up as an indignity, not alone to Grant, but to the country whence he hailed.

Aside from minor incidents the pleasure of the English visit was undimmed and the example of the London court followed Grant around the world. He visited every capital of Europe and almost every important town. He talked with Bismarck and Von Moltke in Germany, with Gambetta and MacMahon in France, with Gortchakoff in Russia, with Castelar in Spain, with kings and queens and emperors, the Czar, the Pope. In almost every capital he was asked to witness a review of troops and he invariably declined. To the Crown Prince of Germany he said: "The truth is I am more of a farmer than a soldier. I take little or no interest in military affairs. I never went into the army without regret and I never retired without pleasure." He wandered dumbly through

the galleries and museums, was bored by paintings, sculptures, and cathedrals, but was impressed by the imposing grandeur of the Alps, great engineering works, and by the Pyramids. He loved especially to stroll the streets and see the common people. James Russell Lowell, our Minister to Spain, who entertained him at Madrid, has left a picture which may apply to all his wanderings: —

"As he speaks nothing but English, he was as incommunicable as an iceberg and I think is rather bored by peregrination. What he likes best is to escape and wander about the streets with his Achates Young. After being here two days I think he knew Madrid better than I. He seemed to be very single-minded, honest, and sensible — very easy to be led by anybody he likes. He is perfectly unconscious and natural, naïvely puzzled, I fancied, to find himself a personage, and going through the ceremonies to which he is condemned with a dogged imperturbability that annotated to me his career in general." [1]

From Europe Grant went to Egypt and the Pyramids, and then to Asia, visiting the Holy Land, and later India, Siam, China, and Japan. He was greatly taken with the Orient. Japan he marveled at. China appealed to him. Li Hung Chang, with whom he

[1] To Charles Eliot Norton, *Letters of James Russell Lowell*, p. 233.

talked, he rated among the world's four master minds in statecraft and diplomacy.

While Grant was lingering abroad, finding new scenes to lure him on and pleased by the attention showered upon him, politics was shaping up at home. Hayes had pledged himself against a second term, and in no event could he have been elected if he had tried to run, so general was the feeling that his title had a taint. His course as President had alienated the men who had done most to put him in the place. The group which had been influential under Grant now found themselves of little consequence with the Administration. Conkling, Cameron, Logan, and others of the Stalwart wing were out of favor and out of sorts, while Sherman, Evarts, Hoar, and Schurz had Hayes's ear, and Southern Democrats were called in council when it came to naming office-holders in the South. The new Administration knew not Joseph. It was completely out of sympathy with "the machine" and recognized few party obligations of the old-fashioned kind. Blaine, who was pressing forward as the candidate for President, had not much in common either with Hayes or with the Stalwart group. The Stalwarts turned instinctively toward Grant.

Word kept coming back about his European progress, and the tidings stirred the people's pride, no

matter what their politics; for in Grant's person they could see the Old World paying honor to the New. It was soon clear that his return would be a sequel for great popular acclaim. The thing to do was to prevent his coming back too soon so that the impetus of his reception might carry on to the Republican Convention. He had not been gone a year when the Stalwarts began to send him messages asking him not to hurry home and hinting at political developments. He was human and took pleasure in the flattering hints. "Most every letter I get from the States, like Porter's to you, asks me to remain abroad," he wrote from Rome to Badeau in March, 1878. "They have designs on me which I do not contemplate for myself. It is probable that I shall return to the United States early in the fall or early next spring." But he did not return that fall. It was September, 1879, when he sailed up the Golden Gate, and found still greater crowds awaiting him than he had seen at Philadelphia or Liverpool. He wandered up and down the coast, visited old haunts at Humboldt and Vancouver, which his experience there, if what it has been sometimes pictured, might have made him shun; then started east across the continent, arriving at Galena the day following election, after a sweeping progress through the cities of the West. There he was greeted by his old neighbors, and

after loafing with them for a week, he started east again through demonstrations all along the line from crowds in cities numbered by the hundred thousands, at last in Philadelphia completing his circuit of the world.

To Grant the country must have seemed unanimous, but from the politician's point of view his coming back was premature — six months too early for their calculations. Besides, neither Grant nor the "Old Guard" seems to have been fully conscious of the deep-seated feeling against a third term in the Presidency. The people's adoration could not have been transmuted into votes. He did nothing to encourage or discourage what was going on. He was quite ready to await results.

He went to Mexico and Cuba continuing in this way his world itinerary — the most widely traveled citizen of the United States.

Those who engineered the Third Term plan were daring and resourceful leaders. In the whole history of our politics there has never been another group to rival them in intellectual force, in discipline, in ruthlessness, in organizing skill. We have since often had "Old Guards" on paper and in frenzied campaign cries; for "Old Guards" are easy bugaboos, but most of them have been the creatures of disordered fancies or demagogical appeal. The ele-

ments of which they are assumed to be composed have seldom stood consistently together or wielded their imaginary power. But here was an "Old Guard" in truth whose members had no squeamishness about the name, whose faults at least were manly faults, and who were strangers to hypocrisy. Conkling in New York, Don Cameron in Pennsylvania, Logan in Illinois, each at the head of his battalions, formed a "Triumvirate" which derived its fitting title from Roman history, and like its Roman prototype was entitled to respect. They had their disciplined allies in other States, and, reaching into every corner of the country, they had their pickets placed.

In February, while in Cuba, Washburne had written Grant about the prospects for another nomination. The tone of his reply showed that he then expected it, though he betrayed no great concern. "All that I want is that the Government rule should remain in the hands of those who saved the Union until all the questions growing out of the war are forever settled. I would much rather any one of many I could mention should be President rather than that I should have it. . . . I shall not gratify my enemies by declining what has not been offered. I am not a candidate for anything, and if the Chicago Convention nominates a candidate who can be elected, it will

gratify me, and the gratification will be greater if it should be some one other than myself. . . . Blaine I would like to see elected, but I fear the party could not elect him." [1]

Later, from Galveston, on March 25, he wrote again to Washburne, who had suggested that he should authorize some one to say that in no event would he consent even to be a candidate after 1880: "I think any statement from me would be misconstrued, and would only serve as a handle for my enemies. Such a statement might well be made after the nomination, if I am nominated in such a way as to accept. It is a matter of supreme indifference to me whether I am or not. There are many persons I would prefer should have the office to myself. I owe so much to the Union men of the country that if they think my chances are better for election than for other probable candidates in case I should decline, I cannot decline if the nomination is tendered without seeking on my part."

From these expressions there could be little question about his expectation that he would be called to serve or about his readiness to heed the call. Coming back from Mexico he followed up the Mississippi from New Orleans to Cairo, by way of Vicksburg and Memphis, tracing back the militant journey

[1] *Letters to a Friend*, Havana, Cuba, February 2, 1880.

he had taken nearly twenty years before — and at last was at Galena, where he awaited the convention, seemingly indifferent himself about the outcome, but acquiescent in the wishes of his family and friends.

Meantime the "Old Guard" had been diligent. They were not too fastidious in their ways. They rushed resolutions through the New York and Pennsylvania Conventions in February, imposing the unit rule upon the delegations from those States. In Illinois the State Convention elected Grant delegates from every district, ignoring protests from districts whose representatives did not approve. Similar tactics prevailed in other States.

When the National Republican Convention met in June, they had three hundred delegates for Grant including a clear majority from New York, Illinois, and Pennsylvania, and almost all the Southern and border States. Blaine had fewer votes than Grant, but they were well distributed throughout the North, while Sherman had, besides his own State of Ohio nearly solid, a scattering support, including some negro delegates in the South. Edmunds, Windom, and Washburne each had his friends, although no one of these was ever really in the running.

As June approached, and it was evident that Grant could not be named without a bitter contest, some of

his intimates, who feared for the result in case the nomination came that way, earnestly begged him to withdraw, but by that time he had gone too far and could not quit without embarrassing his friends. His family were smitten with a longing to get back to Washington, and he acceded to their importunities. John Russell Young went to Galena and with much difficulty, in opposition to their wishes, induced Grant to write a letter addressed to Cameron, once in his Cabinet and now chairman of the Republican National Committee, authorizing his supporters if at any time so minded to withdraw his name. No copy of the letter was preserved and it was never used.

In all the history of conventions there has never been another such as this. No gathering of any party has been so rich in stirring incident, so fertile in dramatic scenes, so pregnant in the tragedy of personal and party feuds. It wrecked ambitions, opened new careers, and brought about strange combinations in the field of politics. The Triumvirate were beaten in trying to impose the unit rule, which would have given Grant the solid vote of New York, Illinois, and Pennsylvania, and with the impetus thus gained have carried him at once across the line. They failed in other arbitrary schemes which gave rise to many hours of strategy and hot debate.

Conkling led their forces on the floor, showing superb contempt for opposition, stirring resentment among friends of Blaine and other candidates, repelling by his domineering ways those whom another would have tried with tact to win, questioning their party loyalty, sneering at their political consistency, exulting in their hate. No one at all familiar with convention records is unfamiliar with the speech in which he introduced Grant's name, the opening lines of doggerel transmuted into eloquence by his audacious, dominating personality:—

> "And when asked what State he hails from,
> Our sole reply shall be,
> He hails from Appomattox
> And its famous apple tree."

Convention oratory in its extravagance and swift impressions is a thing apart, and Conkling's ranks among its great examples, but there were sentences in this speech of his which were to be remembered beyond the moment: "His services attest his greatness." "His fame was earned, not alone by things written and said, but by the arduous greatness of things done." "To him immeasurably more than to any other man is due the fact that every paper dollar is at last as good as gold." "When he refused to receive Denis Kearney of California, he meant that communism, lawlessness, and disorder, although

it might stalk high-headed and dictate law to a whole city, would always find a foe in him." [1]

[1] "From his first utterance in the convention to the last, Mr. Conkling's manner was one studied taunt to his opponents. Nothing approaching it in arrogance and insolence has been witnessed in a political convention, either before or since. If there had been any chance of a compromise of one faction in favor of the other, he destroyed it utterly in the first half-hour.

"His first act was to move a resolution binding the members of the convention to support the nominee, whoever he might be. In doing this he took pains to intimate with unmistakable plainness his belief that the Blaine men would bolt in case Grant was nominated, unless they were pledged in advance not to do so. This resolution was adopted, but the debate upon it made him the most unpopular man in the convention with the supporters of all other candidates than Grant, and thus debarred the latter from hope of recruits. His next important effort was to have the unit rule enforced upon all delegations in order that a majority in each should be able to cast the solid vote of the State for the candidate of their choice. In this effort he was as offensive as he had been in his previous one. A long chapter might be filled with Mr. Conkling's astounding arrogance. . . .

"In his speech nominating Grant he went out of his way to give mortal offense to the Blaine forces and to all other elements of the convention that were opposing Grant. In his written copy of the speech, which was given out in advance to the press, he had this simple sentence at the beginning: 'When asked whence comes our candidate, we say from Appomattox.' There is dignity, simplicity, and dramatic force in that sentence, which is certainly not to be found in the 'improved' version which seems to have been an inspiration of the moment.

"When the balloting began and it was his duty as chairman of the New York delegation to announce its vote, he did so with studied insolence toward the anti-Grant members. His favorite formula was: 'Two of the New York delegates, Mr. Chairman, are said to be for Mr. Sherman, seventeen for Mr. Blaine, fifty-one are for Grant.' He repeated this with slight variations till the chairman of the West Virginia delegation mimicked his manner and

For thirty-six ballots, and for two days, the "Old Guard" battled, holding their lines with a stern discipline never rivaled before or since. Others weakened here and there as the maneuvering went on — not they. On the first ballot they threw to Grant 304 votes. In the two days they did not fall below 302, and even on the thirty-fifth ballot, after the tide began to set toward Garfield, they were 313. On the last ballot, when the stampede was on, their line remained unbroken, and the 306 who voted at the very end for Grant have won their place in history.

Garfield, who had entered the convention pledged to Sherman, who had led the forces against Conkling on the floor, and who from the beginning had received a single vote in almost every ballot, was nominated by the friends of Blaine in a resistless rush which some said had long been prearranged, although the evidence of this was never clear. To mollify the "Old Guard," Arthur, whom Grant had made Collector of the Port of New York and who had been removed by Hayes, was nominated for Vice-President. Conkling would have spurned the sop when the New York delegation was requested to select a man,

method so perfectly that the whole convention roared. After that he did not venture on further repetition, but resorted to such sayings as that a member who was absent was possibly 'meditating some new form of treachery.'" (Bishop, *Presidential Nominations and Elections*, pp. 80–84.)

but Arthur, who was a delegate-at-large, whispered to Conkling that he would like the place — a hint which had far-reaching consequences.

Through it all Grant went about his business at Galena. Conkling, in nominating him, with a covert sneer at Blaine had said: "He has no place; and official influence has not been used for *him*. Without patronage, without emissaries, without committees, without bureaux, without telegraph wires running from his house or from the seats of influence to this convention, without appliances, without electioneering contrivances, without effort on his part, Grant's name is on his country's lips."

This was all true. During the convention, while bulletins were coming in, he spent his time with two or three at Rowley's office. When word arrived that Conkling's lines on Appomattox had been greeted by a storm of cheers which lasted half an hour, he went home saying to his son with something like a sigh: "I am afraid I am going to be nominated." Throughout the hours of balloting he gave no sign. When he was told about the final vote, he brushed the ashes from his cigar, said, "Garfield is a good man. I am glad of it. Good-night, gentlemen," and walked home without another word. But he was not impervious to defeat. He was hurt to think that with the Cameron letter in their hands the "Old Guard"

let him go so far. "My friends have not been honest with me," he said. "I could not afford to be defeated. They should not have placed me in nomination unless they felt perfectly sure of my success." And some whom he thought had not played him fair he never quite forgave — among them Washburne, who let his own name be used to divide Logan's strength in Illinois.

CHAPTER XLVII

THE END

When Grant left the White House he should have said good-bye to politics. That was a game in which he was not qualified to play; he would have been happier if he had frankly recognized the truth. But he had friends to whom he felt under obligation and for their sake he bared his dignity to his successors in the Presidency, laying it open to rebuff. During most of Hayes's term Grant watched the Administration from abroad. He did not sympathize with Hayes's course in Louisiana and South Carolina, abandoning the local governments while profiting himself by practically the same returns as those on which both Chamberlain and Packard based their claims.

Not only did Hayes reverse Grant's Southern policy, but he alienated Conkling by the summary removal of Cornell and Arthur from the New York Custom House. During his Administration there was a general softening of party fiber.

After Garfield's nomination Grant went to Colorado. He sent no message of congratulation. Many thought that he would sulk; some even that he would support Hancock, his former comrade in arms.

But in September, when things looked blue for Garfield, he publicly declared his purpose to support the ticket, and brought Conkling into line, with others of the Stalwart group. Grant and Conkling both went on the stump — for Grant had learned to speak in public while abroad. After the election, for the result of which he felt himself in large part responsible, he was not asked for his advice and did not tender it. He was displeased and mortified when told that Blaine was booked to head the Cabinet, yet went to Washington after the 4th of March and pledged Garfield his support. But quickly came the Robertson appointment in New York, the resignation of Platt and Conkling from the Senate by way of protest, and the ill-fated struggle for their reëlection.

Robertson, who had led the fight against Grant in the New York delegation at Chicago, was especially obnoxious, and Grant strongly sympathized with Conkling in the feud. He was angered, too, because without consulting him Garfield had made a place for Merritt, the deposed New York collector, by arbitrarily transferring his own particular appointees abroad.[1]

[1] "In their letter of resignation, addressed to Governor Cornell on May 14, 1881, Senators Conkling and Platt say: — 'Some weeks ago the President sent to the Senate in a group the nominations of several persons for public offices already filled. One of these offices is the collectorship of the port of New York, now held by General Merritt; another is the consul-generalship at London,

Grant was in Mexico that spring, whence he wrote in May: "I am completely disgusted with Garfield's course. It is too late now for him to do anything to restore him to my confidence. I will never again lend my active aid to the support of a presidential candidate who has not strength enough to appear before a convention as a candidate. . . . Garfield has shown that he is not possessed of the backbone of an angleworm. I hope his nominations may be defeated." His feeling against Garfield was generally known through personal letters which slipped into print. When Garfield was shot, Grant for a time, like Conkling, was a target for the people's wrath, which had hardly died away when in September he followed Garfield's coffin, as he had followed those of Sumner, Motley, and Greeley — each in turn.

now held by General Badeau; another is chargé d'affaires to Denmark, held by Mr. Cramer; another is the mission to Switzerland, held by Mr. Fish, a son of the former distinguished Secretary of State. . . . All these officers save only Mr. Cramer are citizens of New York. It was proposed to displace them all, not for any alleged fault of theirs, or for any alleged need or advantage of the public service, but in order to give the great office of Collector of the Port of New York to Mr. William H. Robertson as a "reward" for certain acts of his said to have "aided in making the nomination of General Garfield possible." The chain of removals thus proposed was broken by General Badeau's promptly declining to accept the new place to which he was sent.' A protest against the change in collectorship signed by Arthur, Conkling, Platt, Postmaster-General James, and Governor Cornell, had been addressed to the President and ignored." (A. R. Conkling, *Life and Letters of R. Conkling*, pp. 639–40.)

With Arthur he was at first on cordial terms and Arthur freely asked him for advice. At his suggestion Frelinghuysen was appointed Secretary of State, and Governor Morgan of New York was asked to take the Treasury. Morgan declined, and Grant proposed John Jacob Astor, first for the Treasury and then for Minister to England, but neither suggestion was adopted. Before long Arthur came to shun his Stalwart friends, perhaps because he felt that they presumed on old association. He wanted to be President in his own right, and to accomplish this, saw the necessity for different ties. That was a trait entirely foreign to Grant's nature, the sort of thing he could not understand. Through all his life he had been loyal to his friends even to the peril of his own good name.

Invited to the White House for a visit, he was beset by satellites and relatives begging him to urge upon the President their claims for office or for favor, and he good-naturedly yielded to their importunities till Arthur plainly showed displeasure and at times evaded him. He wanted his friend General Beale made Secretary of the Navy. Arthur appointed in his stead William E. Chandler, who as the friend of Blaine had been a leading factor in the defeat of Grant for a third term. After that the coolness between Grant and Arthur grew. "He seems more

afraid of his enemies and through this fear more influenced by them than guided either by his judgment, personal feelings, or friendly influences," Grant wrote in February, 1883, and a year later, on the eve of the National Convention, he wrote: "Arthur will probably go into the convention second in the number of supporters, when he would not probably have a single vote if it was not for his army of officials and the vacancies he has to fill."

He had a grievance, not due to patronage, but to Arthur's failure to right what Grant had come to look on as a wrong — his own refusal while President to allow Fitz John Porter a second trial. Since then, through a more thorough study of the evidence, he had become convinced that Porter was innocent of the charge of which he had been convicted by court-martial during the war. The sentence having been reversed at last by the board of which Schofield was the head, Grant worked hard to put the bill through Congress authorizing the President to restore Porter to his former rank, and when Arthur vetoed the bill on the ground that Congress had infringed upon the executive prerogative in designating a person by name whom the President was to appoint, Grant did not hesitate publicly to criticize the motive behind the veto. As between Blaine and Arthur in 1884, Grant preferred the nomination of Blaine, but owing

to his illness he did not vote for him. A year before the election he had written: "The Republican Party, to be saved, must have a decisive, declared policy. It has now no observable policy except to peddle out patronage to soreheads, in order to bring them back into the fold, and avoid any positive declarations upon all leading questions." [1] In his political convictions Grant was a Stalwart to the end.

Grant had no sooner come back from his trip abroad than he began to think about a livelihood. He was obliged to turn his hand to making money, a trick in which he never had shown skill. Just before coming East from Colorado he had written: "One thing is certain; I must do something to supplement my income, or continue to live in Galena or on a farm. I have not got the means to live in a city."

He always had a lively interest in Mexico, and now, after the third term episode, his friend Romero, for years the Mexican Minister in Washington, joined with him in organizing a company, of which Grant became president, the purpose of which was to build a railroad south to the Guatemalan border. The enterprise was not successful, but in 1882, at Frelinghuysen's hint, Arthur made him a commissioner to negotiate a commercial treaty with Mexico,

[1] *Grant in Peace.* Badeau, p. 345.

an appointment which he accepted solely because of his ambition to establish closer business and political relations between the two Republics.

The treaty was concluded. Grant would have had quick action by our Senate; for delay he knew would give to foreign interests an opportunity to influence adversely the Mexican authorities, but the Administration did nothing further. The treaty was not ratified, and no more was heard of it.

Here ends the record of Grant's public service. Had this been all, it would have been a tame and futile termination of a great career which had its crown in the tumultuous welcome home after his triumphal march around the world. In three years he had fallen in the popular esteem. His fatal acquiescence in the third term move; his meddling with the patronage; his good-natured readiness to place his influence at the disposal of his friends, had all contributed to blur his fame. He had gone into Wall Street and the people knew it. He thought that he was making money. So did they. Prosperity alarms idolatry; incense burns grudgingly on the Stock Exchange; and Grant in this followed the way of other heroes. But his life, already packed with contrasts, was to undergo one more swift transformation. The few months left him were to bring both tragedy and triumph,

misfortune in the end restoring him to his own rightful province in the people's love.

When Grant went abroad he entrusted to Ulysses S. Grant, Jr., what property he had, and the son, who was supposed to have a business head, enlarged the trust. He had married the daughter of Senator Chaffee, a Colorado millionaire, and had settled in New York, where in 1879 he became acquainted with young Ferdinand Ward, just blossoming as a Napoleon of the Street. Through some of Ward's ventures he made money for the General, which enabled Grant to complete his trip around the world. In the fall of 1880, Ward proposed a private banking firm to do a Wall Street business under the style of Grant & Ward, he to be financial agent, young Grant to be an active partner, with the General and James F. Fish, Ward's father-in-law, the President of the Marine Bank of Brooklyn, as silent partners. The new firm ranked high; Ward was the marvel of the Street; he had unbounded credit; the market boomed; the firm's investors received amazing dividends. From operations in stocks, bonds, and railway contracts, the firm of Grant & Ward, beginning with a paid-in-capital of $400,000, mostly contributed by Chaffee, and other connections of the Grants,—both Fred and Jesse had married well and settled in New York,—had in three years acquired a rating of

$15,000,000 and a deposit of nearly a million in Fish's bank. Grant having put in all his money paid no attention to the business details, nor did his son. They simply saw their income pouring in and trusted Ward implicitly. But while Ward talked to them of railway contracts and huge rates of interest for emergency loans to subcontractors, he talked to customers about Grant's influence in getting contracts from the Government — a form of business which Grant expressly stipulated the firm should never undertake. He knew that this would be an impropriety.

"I had been President of the United States," he later testified, "and I did not think it was suitable for me to have my name connected with Government contracts, and I knew that there was no large profit in them except by dishonest measures. There are some men who get Government contracts year in and year out, and whether they manage their affairs dishonestly to make a profit or not, they are sometimes supposed to, and I did not think it was any place for me."

Grant, all unconscious of impending fate, was looking forward to prosperity in his remaining years. Some of his nearest friends were men of wealth, and now he felt that he could associate with them on even terms. He had a handsome house in Sixty-sixth Street, near Fifth Avenue, and there, surrounded by

his family and trophies, he planned to end his days in profitable ease. Besides his generous dividends from Grant & Ward, he had a $15,000 income from a fund subscribed for him by New York financiers. He had no public cares or aspirations, no lingering restlessness for power; his skies were clear of clouds; he was content.

The day before Christmas in December, 1883, he slipped on the icy sidewalk before his house, crushing the muscles of his leg. He did not leave his bed for weeks. Then for months he hobbled about on crutches, recovering his strength somewhat in Washington and Fort Monroe, but never quite regaining his health. At home again in April, still lame but prosperous, he drove about and went downtown on business, free from financial worry.

One Sunday evening, May 4, 1884, Ward came to see him, told him the Marine Bank was in trouble, that the City Chamberlain had drawn heavily late the afternoon before, imperiling the bank's reserve, and unless $400,000 could be raised at once the bank must close its doors on Monday morning, tying up the firm's deposit of $660,000 and threatening ruin. He had himself raised $250,000, but could go no farther and Grant must raise the rest. This was new business for the General. He did not know where to turn, but Ward suggested W. H. Vanderbilt, and

Grant saw Vanderbilt that night, told him the story, and obtained from him $150,000—not for the sake of the Marine Bank or of the firm of Grant & Ward, as Vanderbilt assured him, but as a personal loan. The next day the loan was paid, so Grant supposed, through the firm's check drawn on the bank. On Tuesday morning, when Grant limped into the firm's office, he was stunned by his son's greeting: "Grant & Ward have failed and Ward has fled!" He turned away without a word, ascended slowly to his own private room, and late that afternoon the cashier found him sitting there, close to his desk, clasping the arms of his chair convulsively, head bowed.

Before night it was known that every dollar he possessed was swept away. The firm had no deposits in the bank. The securities Ward talked about were worthless. All the Grants were pauperized; their entire fortunes were tied up with the firm. Tradesmen's bills came pouring in, and had it not been for prompt and generous action by a stranger,[1] who forced Grant to accept a loan "on account of my share for services ending April, 1865," he could not have bought provisions for a meal. He was too proud and silent to appeal for credit then.

In order to save something from the vultures, Vanderbilt insisted on security for his personal loan,

[1] Charles Wood, of Lansingburg, New York.

and to him Grant assigned his farm, his wife's real estate in Philadelphia and Chicago, and all his personal property — including the trophies of the war, his medals, swords, and uniforms. The debt to Vanderbilt was one of honor. With him it had precedence over obligations of the firm of Grant & Ward.

Vanderbilt afterwards tried to transfer the property to Mrs. Grant, but she refused his offer, except as to the trophies, which she accepted in trust, to be placed at the disposal of the Government. For their conspiracy to defraud, Fish was sentenced to seven years in prison, Ward to ten.

Stripped of his livelihood, harassed by obligations, chagrined by failure, smarting under unjust stings, feeble in body, with age creeping on, Grant had again to face the world. He could no longer justify his simple faith in human nature. "I have made it the rule of my life," he said, "to trust a man long after other people gave him up; but I don't see how I can ever trust any human being again." Yet his bitterness of soul was sanctified. Without it history could not record the last fine chapter of his contradictory career, shedding a halo over all that went before. His bearing in adversity beatified him in the world's regard.

Before his failure the "Century Magazine," which had begun its series on the battles of the Civil War,

had urged him to write the story of Shiloh or of the Wilderness. But he was not inclined to do it. Writing was not his trade. Now they came back with their proposal. It would divert his mind; he could earn money in this way; his need decided him. He wrote an article on Shiloh and was astonished at himself to find that he could make a story full of human interest as easily as he had once indited orders and reports. He had the faculty of narrative in an unusual degree, as he had often shown among his intimates; for all his life he was an entertaining talker, at times monopolizing conversation in choice groups of friends. His stillness fell upon him only in public or with those he slightly knew.

After Shiloh came Vicksburg, Chattanooga, and the Wilderness for the "Century," and from these grew the "Memoirs." He was absorbed in his new work, and urged on by the demand for more. Thus he occupied the summer at Long Branch, writing daily with the help of Badeau and his oldest son, who verified his records and combined his notes; but he was daily growing feebler, till in October on his return to town he became conscious of pains shooting through his throat. The physicians told him it was cancer. Soon he could not swallow without torture. He had no wish to live if he could not recover. For a time he did not care to write or talk. He "often sat

for hours propped up in his chair, with his hands clasped, looking at the blank wall before him, silent, contemplating the future; not alarmed, but solemn, at the prospect of pain and disease; and only death at the end. It was like a man gazing into his open grave. He was in no way discouraged," writes Badeau, "but the sight was to me the most appalling I have ever witnessed."

Then there came a change. He grimly turned once more to his new work. He would complete his task for his own sake, his family, and those to whom he was in debt. The first money he received he sent the stranger who had given him the loan in May. But he could hardly hope to wipe out all his obligations, and when in January came the doctor's final verdict that he could not recover, he was in mental agony; not that he had to die, but that he might not live till he had fully cleared his name.

A bill had passed the Senate the preceding winter to restore his rank and place him on the retired list of the Army, but Arthur had hinted that he would veto it, as in the Fitz John Porter case, if Grant were to be restored by name. He felt this keenly and it contributed to his distress.

Soon the world knew that he was dying and sympathy came pouring in from everywhere. The bill for his retirement, modified to meet the President's

objections, was revised, but was held up for party reasons in the House, the Democrats attempting to embarrass Arthur by forcing through the earlier bill, and thus compelling him to reverse himself or veto it. Congress was near its end, and Grant, who looked upon the measure as in some way a vindication, felt the rebuff. The bill was beaten in the House on February 16, the anniversary of Donelson. It was felt then that any day might be his last. The country was aroused and public sentiment prevailed. On the 4th of March, in the closing hours of Congress, the bill, amended as Arthur wished, was rushed through House and Senate by unanimous consent, and Arthur sent in Grant's name just in time. Cleveland signed the new commission — the second act of his Administration.

Grant's life thenceforward was a desperate fight with death. More than once the end seemed right at hand, and once the doctors thought that it had come. For months he could not lie in bed, but sat propped up in chairs, suffering excruciating pain. Even those with whom he had long been in feud now shared the universal sympathy. On the anniversary of the day that Richmond fell he dictated this message: "I am very much touched and grateful for the sympathy and interest manifested in me by my friends — and by those who have not hitherto been regarded as

friends. I desire the good-will of all, whether hitherto friends or not."

It is not necessary to prolong the story. Its plain recital cuts one like a knife. He kept at work upon his book, dictating when he could not speak above a whisper, more often penciling his sentences on pads. The passages he wrote in the last weeks were just and lucid. They read so simply that we can hardly realize how every paragraph was drenched in pain. In June they carried him to Mount McGregor, and there on July 23 he died. He did not drop his pencil till his work was done. Three weeks before his death, on July 2, he wrote to his physician, Dr. Douglass, a letter with which this record of his life may fittingly conclude: —

"I ask you not to show this to any one, unless the physicians you consult with, until the end. Particularly, I want it kept from my family. . . . I know that I gain strength some days, but when I do go back it is beyond where I started to improve. I think the chances are very decidedly in favor of your being able to keep me alive until the change of weather towards winter. Of course there are contingencies that might arise at any time that would carry me off suddenly. . . . I would say, therefore, to you and your colleagues, to make me as comfortable as you can. If it is within God's providence

that I should go now, I am ready to obey His call without a murmur. I should prefer going now to enduring my present suffering for a single day without hope of recovery. As I have stated, I am thankful for the providential extension of my time to enable me to continue my work. I am further thankful, and in a much greater degree thankful, because it has enabled me to see for myself the happy harmony which has so suddenly sprung up between those engaged but a few short years ago in deadly conflict. It has been an inestimable blessing to me to hear the kind expression towards me in person from all parts of our country, from people of all nationalities, of all religions and of no religion, of Confederates and of National troops alike, of soldiers' organizations, of mechanical, scientific, religious, and other societies, embracing almost every citizen in the land. They have brought joy to my heart, if they have not effected a cure. So to you and your colleagues I acknowledge my indebtedness for having brought me through the valley of the shadow of death to enable me to witness these things."

THE END

INDEX

Abbott, Josiah G., 513.
Acquisition of territory, G.'s views on, 331.
Adams, Charles Francis, as Minister to Great Britain, demands reparation for damage caused by Alabama, etc., 293; quoted, on evolution of Sumner's speech, 295; on Geneva Board of Arbitration, 310; quoted, on himself as candidate for Liberal Republican nomination, 414, 415; 282, 380, 412, 413.
Adams, Charles Francis, Jr., *Before and After the Treaty of Washington*, quoted, 289, 290; quoted, on Sumner, 333.
Adams, Henry, 345.
Agassiz, Louis, 291.
Akerman, Amos T., Attorney-General, 326, 367, 386, 389.
Alabama, reorganized state government in, 230; in 1872, 460, 461.
Alabama claims, Johnson-Clarendon Convention, 294, 295; Sumner's estimate of, 295–97; reopening of negotiations concerning, 302, 303; the Joint High Commission, 308, 309; the Geneva Arbitration and Award, 310.
Alexander II, Czar, 535.
Allen, John ("Private"), 465.
Allen, William ("Fog-horn"), 499.
Allison, William B., 394.
Ames, Adelbert, Governor of Mississippi, 464, 465, 466.
Ames, Oakes, and the Crédit Mobilier, 431 *ff.*; censured by House, 434, 435.
Amnesty, special acts for individuals, 375, 376; G.'s special message on, 376; general, blocked by Sumner, is finally accomplished, 377, 378.
Andrew, John A., 231, 291.
Appomattox Court-House, meeting of G. and Lee at, 196 *ff.*
Arbitration of international disputes, Treaty of Washington first triumph of principle of, 309, 310; G. entitled to credit for establishing, 311.
Argyle, Duchess of, 380.
Arkansas, in 1872 and 1874, 461–63.
Arthur, Chester A., nominated for Vice-President in 1880, and why, 546, 547; as President, G.'s relations with, 552–54; vetoes Fitz-John Porter bill, 553; 549, 562, 563.
Ashley, James M., 320.
Astor, John Jacob, 552.
Atkinson, Edward, 412.
Augur, C. C., 504.

Babcock, Orville E., his mission to San Domingo, 314; unauthorized, signs protocol providing for annexation to U.S., 315, 316; his second visit to San Domingo results in treaties for annexation, etc., 317; and the paving contracts, 476 *ff.*; the center of Whiskey Ring scandal, 476 *ff.*; indicted for conspiracy, 481; G. comes to defense of,

483, 484; acquitted, 484, 485; his later relations with G., 485; 125, 189, 281, 318, 320, 323, 327, 390.
Back Pay Grab. *See* Salary Grab.
Badeau, Adam, his *Military History of the U.S.* quoted, on G., 147–49; his *Grant in Peace* quoted, 554; 125, 226, 274, 324, 384, 538, 550 *n.*, 561.
Baez, Buenaventura, President of San Domingo, seeks intervention of U.S., 313; A. D. White quoted on, 313; 317.
Baltimore, riots threatened at, in 1866, 243, 244.
Bancroft, George, 234.
Banks, Nathaniel P., 59, 118, 123, 130, 133, 160, 161.
Barnard, Mr. (whiskey scandal), 478, 479.
Bartlett, William F., 412.
Baxter, Mr. (Arkansas), 461, 462.
Bayard, Thomas F., 513.
Beale, Edward F., 552.
Beauregard, G. P. T., succeeds to chief command at Shiloh on death of A. S. Johnston, 88, 89; beaten in second day's battle, 91, 92; evacuates Corinth, 93; 84, 85, 96, 160, 171.
Belknap, William W., Secretary of War, investigated by Congressional Committee, 488, 489; impeached, and resigns, 489, 490; Senate fails to convict, 490; 389, 470.
Belknap, Mrs. W. W., 488, 489, 490.
Belmont, Ky., battle of, 63, 64, 65.
Bernard, Montagu, on Joint High Commission, 309.
Bigelow, John, quoted, on G.'s first Cabinet, 282, 283; his *Life of Tilden*, 512.
Bird, Frank W., 412.
Bishop, J. B., *Presidential Nominations and Elections*, 545 *n.*
Bismarck, Prince Otto von, 498 *n.*, 535.
Black Friday, 342 *ff.*
Blaine, James G., why he failed of the nomination in 1876, 498, 499; his candidacy in 1880, 537, 542, 544, 545 *n.*, 547; 433, 511, 541, 550, 552, 553.
Blair, Austin, 412.
Blair, Francis P., Jr., 47, 359, 409.
"Bloody Shirt," waved by Republicans in campaign of 1876, 500.
Borie, Adolph E., 278.
Boston *Herald*, 356.
Boutwell, George S., Secretary of the Treasury, 277; and the corner in gold, 343 *ff.*; his dealings with the public debt, 351; 433, 439, 445.
Bowers, T. S., 125, 163.
Bowles, Samuel, quoted on G., 379; his character, 379, 380; on tariff act of 1872, 397, 398; 382, 412, 415.
Boynton, Henry V., on G. and the Whiskey Ring, 485 *n.*, 488 *n.*
Bradley, Justice Joseph P., and the second Legal Tender decision, 354–56; selected as fifth Supreme Court member of Electoral Commission (1877), 513; his opinion in Florida case, 514; denounced by Democrats, 515; 492.
Bragg, Braxton, at Shiloh, 88, 89, 90; 107, 108, 130, 131, 132, 136, 138.
Brinkerhoff, Jacob, 418.
Bristow, Benjamin H., Secretary of Treasury, 441; and the Whiskey Ring frauds, 476 *ff.*;

G. displeased with his handling of the cases, 485, 486; resigns, 487; as candidate for presidential nomination in 1876, 498 and *n.*
Brodhead, James O., 481.
Brooks, James, 434.
Brooks, Mr. (Arkansas), 461, 462.
Brown, B. Gratz, nominated for Governor of Missouri, by Republican dissenters in 1872, 409.
Brown, John, of Ossawatomie, 8.
Brown, Owen, father of John, 8.
Bruce, Blanche K., 361.
Bryant, William Cullen, quoted, on nomination of Greeley, 416; 412, 418.
Buchanan, James, 38, 72, 270, 327.
Buchanan, R. C., forces G.'s retirement from the army in 1854, 35.
Buckner, Simon B., at West Point with G., 21; in Mexican War, 30; helps G. in time of need, 37; in command at Bowling Green, 69; takes command at Donelson, and surrenders to G., 73, 74.
Buell, Don Carlos, at West Point with G., 21; at Shiloh, 90–92; 57, 69, 70, 77, 78, 84, 85, 86, 93, 94, 95, 133, 150.
Bullock, Rufus B., Governor of Georgia, 364, 365, 366.
Burnside, Ambrose E., 130, 131, 136, 137, 139, 150.
Butler, Benjamin F., at New Orleans, 104; his blunders in command of Army of the James upset G.'s plans, 170, 171; his quarrels with "Baldy" Smith, 174, 175; alleged by Smith to have blackmailed G., 175; sent home "for the good of the service," 175, 176; G.'s friendship for, during his presidency, a mystery, 437; *Butler's Book*, 437; controls patronage in Mass., 437, 438; selects Simmons for Boston collectorship, 438; had he a "hold" on G.? 438; and the Sanborn contracts, 439 *ff.*; 59, 159, 161, 215, 272, 398.
Butler, Matthew C., 361 *n.*
Butterfield, Daniel, Assistant Treasurer at N.Y., and the "Gold Conspiracy," 344 *ff.*; forced to resign, 346.

Cabinet of Pres. Johnson, and the quarrel with G., 264, 265, 266.
Cabinet, G's first, 275–78.
Cabral, José M. (San Domingo), 312, 313.
"Cæsarism," 423, 457, 521.
Cameron, J. Donald, 496, 537, 540, 543, 547.
Cameron, Simon, 145, 320, 385, 387, 401.
Campaign of 1876, the, 500, 501.
Campbell, John A., 188.
Campbell, Mr., Minister to Mexico, 245, 247.
Canada, annexation of, suggested, 297; real obstacle to annexation, 297, 298; Sumner demands Great Britain's withdrawal from, 307, 308.
Carpenter, Francis B., 168.
Carpenter, Matthew H., defends G. against Sumner, 423, 424; 401.
Carpet-baggers, 272, 358, 359.
Casserly, Eugene, 321.
Castelar, Emilio, 524.
Catacazy, M., 527.
Cavour, Count, 498 *n.*
Cedar Creek, battle of, 180.
Century Magazine, G. writes stories of his battles for, 560, 561; 499 *n.*, 515 *n.*

Chaffee, Jerome B., 556.
Chaffee, Miss, 556.
Chamberlain, Daniel H., Governor of South Carolina, 472, 518, 549.
Chandler, William E., first to claim Hayes's election, 501, 502 *n.*; 552.
Chandler, Zachariah, Secretary of the Interior, 491 and *n.*; 213, 215, 297, 328, 380, 384, 387, 401, 500, 501, 502 and *n.*, 503.
Chapultepec, battle of, 28.
Chase, Salmon P., distrustful of G.'s success, in 1864, 169; as Chief Justice, his majority opinion in Hepburn *vs.* Griswold, 352, 353; suggests that Court was packed with a view to overruling that decision, 355; his death, 492; 223, 356, 398.
Chattanooga, G. arrives at headquarters at, 136, 137; battle of, 137–40.
Chicago, whiskey frauds in, 476, 477.
Chicago *Tribune*, 412, 413.
Chickamauga Creek, battle of, 130, 131, 132.
Childs, George W., his *Recollections* quoted, 519 *n.*; 384, 404, 424, 425.
Cincinnati *Commercial*, 412, 413.
City Point, G.'s headquarters at, a secondary Union capital, 188.
Civil Rights bill, of 1866, passed over Johnson's veto, 236.
Civil Rights bill, of 1875, declared unconstitutional, 463; 377, 378.
Civil Service Commission, created, 400; appropriation for, withheld, 400 *ff.*
Civil-Service reform, in party platforms of 1872, 419, 420.
Clarendon, George W. F. Villiers, Earl of, 294, 300.
Cleveland, Grover, signs G.'s new commission as lieutenant-general, 563.
Clifford, Justice Nathan, 353, 513.
Clymer, Heister, 489.
Cobden Club, 395.
Cockburn, Sir Alexander, on Geneva Board, 310.
Cold Harbor, battle of, 165, 166; G.'s admission concerning, 165.
Colfax, Schuyler, Vice-President with G., 270, 271; 421, 433.
Colfax, La., massacre of negroes at, 468.
Columbus, Ky., seized by Polk, 61.
Comstock, Cyrus B., 125, 259, 263.
Confederacy, the, condition and prospects of, when G. assumed chief command, 152 *ff.*; in sore straits in winter of 1864, 187, 188.
Confederates, amnesty granted to, 375, 376.
Congress, *Thirty-Eighth*, fails to recognize reconstituted state government of Louisiana, 210, 211.
Thirty-Ninth, opposition to Johnson's policy in, organized by Stevens and Sumner, 231; refuses to admit members from reconstructed States, 234, 235; passes Freedmen's Bureau bill, but sustains veto, 235; overrides veto of Civil Rights bill, resolution leading to 14th Amendment, new Freedmen's Bureau bill, 236, Reconstruction Act (1867), and Tenure of Office Act, 248, 249; Reconstruction measures of, reviewed, 250.

Fortieth, adverse results of elections to, 240; strips Johnson of authority under Reconstruction acts, 251; Senate refuses assent to suspension of Stanton, 259; House passes resolutions of impeachment of Johnson, 259, 269; trial of Johnson, in Senate, results in acquittal, 269, 270; passes resolution concerning removal of civil officers in the South, 272.

Forty-First, Senate refuses to ratify Johnson-Clarendon Convention, 295, and San Domingo treaties, 320–323; Senate appoints committee to investigate San Domingo matter, 326 *ff.*; Cuban question debated in, 339; passes act to strengthen public credit, 341; bars representatives from Georgia, 364; passes "Enforcement Acts," 369 *ff.*, and many special amnesty acts, 375, 376.

Forty-Second, Senate ratifies Treaty of Washington, 309; Senate deposes Sumner from chairmanship of Foreign Relations Committee, 333, 385; passes act to enforce provisions of 14th Amendment, 373; House passes general amnesty bill, 378; tariff bills passed by, 397; passes Civil-Service Reform Act, 400, but withholds appropriation for Commission, 400 *ff.*; investigates Crédit Mobilier scandal, 433, 434; passes salary increase bill, 435, 436.

Forty-Third, repeals salary increase, as to Members of Congress, 437; investigates Sanborn contracts, 440; and the currency, 445 *ff.*; passes inflation bill, 448, which G. vetoes, 451; passes Resumption Act, 454, 455; passes Civil Rights bill, 463; House investigates Belknap case and passes resolutions of impeachment, 488, 489; Senate acquits Belknap, and why, 490.

Forty-Fourth, House controlled by Democrats, 452; House had made itself obnoxious, 496; House passes anti-third-term resolution, 497 *n.*; and the disputed election of 1876, 507 *ff.*; bill creating Electoral Commission reported by special committee, and passed, 510, 511; Democrats in, and the threat to delay count of vote until after March 4, 515, 516.

Forty-Eighth, passes bill making it possible to restore G. to his former rank, etc., 563.

Conkling, A. B., *Life and Letters of Roscoe Conkling*, 550 *n.*

Conkling, Roscoe, declines Chief-Justiceship, 493; leads G.'s supporters in Convention of 1880, 544; J. B. Bishop quoted on his leadership, 545 *n.*; takes stump for Garfield, 550; resigns Senatorship and seeks reëlection, 550 and *n.*; 328, 384, 401, 410, 433, 496, 498 and *n.*, 499, 511, 519 *n.*, 537, 540, 546, 547, 549, 551.

Constitution, *Fourteenth Amendment*, seceding States refuse to ratify, 241; act to enforce provisions of, 373; 236, 237, 364, 365.

Fifteenth Amendment, ratified, 335, 368; 273, 363, 365.

Cooke, Jay, & Co., failure of, and its consequences, 444 *ff.*

Corbin, Abel R., G.'s brother-in-law, and the "Gold Conspiracy," 343 *ff.*; 274.
Corbin, Mrs. Abel R., 348.
Corinth, Miss., taken by Halleck, 96; 84, 85, 93, 106, 107.
Cornell, Alonzo B., 549, 550 *n.*
Coushatta, La., 468, 469.
Cox, Jacob D., Secretary of the Interior, 278, 386; resigns, 386–88; joins Liberal Republican movement, 389, 412; 315, 316, 418, 490 and *n.*
Cramer, Michael J., G.'s brother-in-law, appointed Minister to Denmark, 391, 392; 550 *n.*
Crédit Mobilier scandal, the, 431 *ff.*
Creswell, John A. J., Postmaster-General, 278.
Crittenden, Thomas L., 130.
Crosby, Sheriff (Miss.), 464.
Cuba, problem of, 336 *ff.*
Cuban insurgents, issuance of proclamation recognizing belligerency of, blocked by Fish, 337–39.
Cumberland, Army of the, 130 *ff.*
Currency, G.'s views on, 350, 445, 446; inflation bill, vetoed by G., 448–51.
Curtis, George W., commends G.'s attack on spoils system, 399, 403, 404; 103, 380, 384, 393, 505.
Cushing, Caleb, his part in reopening negotiations with Great Britain, 302; nomination of, for Chief Justice, withdrawn, 494, 495; 310.

Dana, Charles A., his *Recollections of the Civil War* quoted, on Rawlins and G., 126, 127, and on G., 129; sent by Stanton "to spy out the Western armies," etc., 126; a factor in fixing G.'s reputation, 127; Lincoln's support of G. largely due to his reports, 128; trusted by G., 128; after Vicksburg suggests G. as commander-in-chief of Armies of the West, 129; quoted on Missionary Ridge, 138, 139, and on Meade, 157; 119, 132, 133, 134.
Dana, Richard H., Jr., quoted on G. in Washington, 146, 147; 291.
Davis, Charles H., 104.
Davis, Justice David, candidate for nomination of Liberal Republicans in 1872, 413, 414; 354, 513, 515 and *n.*
Davis, Jefferson, leaves Richmond, 193; captured, 200; 84, 88, 162, 173, 188, 205, 363, 377, 494.
Davis, John C. Bancroft, 310, 337.
Dawes, Henry L., 379, 397.
De Grey, George F. S. Robinson, Earl, on Joint High Commission, 309.
Delano, Columbus, Secretary of the Interior, 387, 389, 490, 491.
Democratic Convention of 1872, indorses Greeley, 421.
Democrats, control House in 44th Congress, 452; responsible for passage of bill creating Electoral Commission, 511; angered by its decision, 514, they denounce Bradley, 515, and threaten to delay the count by filibustering, 515, 516.
Dent, Frederick T., G.'s brother-in-law, 25, 390.
Dent, Julia, becomes G.'s wife, 25–27. And *see* Grant, Mrs. Julia Dent.
Dent, "Colonel," G.'s father-in-law, 25, 27, 37, 38, 42.

Donelson, Fort, strategic position of, 69; attacked and taken by force under G., 72–74; capture of, the first substantial victory for the North, 75.
Douglas, Stephen A., 270.
Douglass, Dr., attends G. in his last illness, 564, 565.
Dyer, Mr., and the whiskey frauds, 478 *ff.*

Early, Jubal A., his raid in July, 1864, 172; beaten by Sheridan in the Valley, 179, 180.
Edmunds, George F., 370, 510, 511, 513, 542.
Election of 1868, 270, 271.
Election of 1872, 425, 427.
Election of 1876, dispute over, 501 *ff.*
Elections of Representatives in Congress placed under federal control, 371.
Electoral College, vote of, in 1876, 507.
Electoral Commission (1877) bill creating passes both Houses, 510, 511; composition of, 513; decision of, 514, 515; G.'s share in creation of, and securing acquiescence in its decision, 519 and *n.*, 520.
Elliott, Robert, 361.
Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 291.
"Enforcement Acts," passed by 41st Congress, 370 *ff.* And *see* Supreme Court of the U.S.
England, G.'s reception in, 534, 535. *And see* Great Britain.
Erie Railroad, 342.
Europe, G.'s visit to (1877), 534 *ff.*
Evans, Mr., and the Belknap scandal, 488, 489.
Evarts, William M., 310, 537.
Ewell, Richard S., at West Point with G., 21; quoted, 23; 193, 194.

Farragut, David G., takes New Orleans, 104, and Mobile, 177; 238.
Fenianism, 294, 297, 307.
Fenton, Reuben E., 410, 411.
Ferry, Thomas W., 447.
Fessenden, William P., 222.
Field, Justice Stephen J., 353, 513.
Fillmore, Millard, 535.
Financial Affairs. *See* Currency, Greenbacks, Specie Payments.
Fish, Hamilton, succeeds Washburne as Secretary of State, 282; relations with Sumner, 285; his instructions to Motley as Minister to Great Britain, 299, 300; censures Motley for disregarding instructions, 301; opens negotiations with Rose, 302, 303; agrees on basis of negotiations, 306; Sumner's note to, 307, 308; on Joint High Commission, 308; and Babcock's "queer performance" in San Domingo, 315; his difficult position, 316; resigns, but yields on San Domingo, 317; demands Motley's resignation, 323, 324; on the reasons for Motley's removal, 332; Sumner's break with, 332, 333; and the Cuban problem, 336 *ff.*; blocks issuance of proclamation recognizing belligerency of insurgents, 337–39; G.'s later relations with, 384; quoted, 406; as a "dark horse" in 1876, 498 and *n.*; G.'s high estimate of, 498 *n.*; 284, 292, 298, 323, 368, 516, 522, 523, 524, 525.
Fish, James F., 556, 557, 560.
Fish, Nicholas, 324, 550 *n.*

Fishback, George W., 477.
Fisher, Fort, capture of, 187.
Fisk, James, Jr., and "Black Friday," 342 *ff.*
Fiske, John, 91.
Five Forks, battle of, and its effects, 192, 193.
Florida, in disputed election of 1876, 502, 503 and *n.*, 504, 505, 507, 508, 509, 513, 514.
Floyd, John B., in command at Donelson, 72, 73; hands over command to Buckner, 73.
Foote, Andrew H., coöperates with G. in attack on Donelson, 70–72; 77.
Foreign policy, G.'s statement of, in inaugural, 335, 336.
Forney, John W., and the quarrel between G. and Sumner, 317 *ff.*
Forrest, Nathan B., 107, 108.
Foster, Charles, 471.
Franco-Prussian War, 305.
Franklin, William B., at West Point with G., 21.
Franklin, Tenn., battle of, 182.
Frederick, Crown Prince of Germany (1877), 535.
Free traders, nominate Groesbeck for President in 1872, 418.
Freedmen's Bureau bill, first, vetoed by Johnson, 235; second, passed over Johnson's veto, 236.
Frelinghuysen, Frederick T., 331, 513, 552, 554.
Frémont, John C., commands Department of the West, 57; reprimands G., 63; his proclamation of confiscation and emancipation in Missouri, modified by Lincoln, 67, 68; superseded by Halleck, 68; nominated for President by radical Republicans, 1864, 172; 38, 59, 61, 62, 66, 270.
Fry, James B., quoted concerning G. at West Point, 22, 23.
Frye, William P., 472.

Gambetta, Léon, 535.
Garfield, James A., "almost a free trader," 394; quoted on the tariff, 394, 395; nominated for President in 1880, 546; death of, 551; 433, 505, 513, 549, 550.
Garland, A. H., Governor of Alabama, 462, 463.
Garland, Colonel, on G. at Chapultepec, 28.
Garrison, William Lloyd, 233.
Geneva Arbitration Board, its membership and award, 310.
Georgetown, Ohio, 5, 6.
Georgia, reorganized state government in, 230; second "reconstruction" in, 363–67; secures "home rule," 366; 360.
Gibbon, Edward, 68.
Gillmore, Quincy A., 174.
Godkin, Edwin L., quoted on Motley, 292 *n.*; 380, 382, 398, 412, 417, 491.
Godwin, Parke, quoted, on nomination of Greeley, 417.
Gold, manipulation of, by Gould and Fisk, 343 *ff.*
"Gold Conspiracy," the, 342.
Gortchakoff, Prince, 498 *n.*, 535.
Gould, Jay, and "Black Friday," 342 *ff.*
Grant, Frederick D., G.'s son, 556, 561.
Grant, Hannah (Simpson), G.'s mother, 4; some characteristics of, inherited by G., 8, 9; G.'s relations with, 8, 9.
Grant, Jesse Root, G.'s father, at Point Pleasant, 3, 4; moves to Georgetown, O., 4, 5; his character and opinions, 6, 7; G.'s relations with, 9; decides to send G. to West Point, 17;

on G.'s resignation from the army, 36; in prosperous circumstances, 39; his injudicious defense of G., 100, 102; letters of G. to, 101, 102, 142; postmaster at Covington, Ky., 391; 11, 13, 18, 43, 46, 52, 53, 54, 390, 392.

Grant, Jesse R., G.'s son, 534, 556.

Grant, Mrs. Julia (Dent), G.'s wife, 37, 191, 217, 348, 391, 534, 560.

Grant, Matthew, 7.

Grant, Nellie. *See* Sartoris, Nellie (Grant).

Grant, Noah, G.'s grandfather, 7, 8.

Grant, Peter, G.'s half-brother, 8.

Grant, Simpson, G.'s brother, 39.

Grant, Ulysses S.

I. *Early years.*

Birth, 3; first called Hiram Ulysses, 4; entered at West Point as Ulysses Simpson by mistake, 4; characteristics inherited from his mother, 9; his knack with horses, 9, 10, 12; his persistence, 9; his youth of hard work, 10, 11; the best-traveled boy in the village, 11, 12; anecdotes, 11–14; his early schooling, 15, 16; certain traits of, 15, 16; refuses to follow his father's trade, 17; appointed to West Point, 17, 18; his views thereon, 17, 18; quoted concerning his term there, 19, 20; his nicknames, 21; certain fellow cadets quoted concerning, 21, 22, 23; his feats of horsemanship, 22; his admiration for Scott and C. F. Smith, 23, 24; his rank on graduation, 24; commissioned in Fourth Infantry, 24; distaste for military uniforms, 24, 25; at Jefferson Barracks, 25, 26; pays court to Julia Dent, and marries her, 25–27; joins Taylor's army of occupation, 27; opposed to Mexican War, 27, 28; his service in the War, 28–30; describes his feelings in battle, 29, 30; his experience in Mexico of great service to him in the Civil War, 30; a subaltern at frontier posts, 30 *ff.*; ordered to California, 32; his quality shown on the journey across the Isthmus, 32; at Vancouver and Humboldt, 32, 33; fondness for his home, 33; extent of his addiction to drink, 33; why did he leave the army? 34; resigns on promotion to captaincy, 35; tries farming at Whitehaven, 37, 38; in real estate business in St. Louis, 38; had no political affiliations, 38; clerk for his brothers at Galena, Ill., 39, 40.

II. *The Civil War* (1).

On the approach of war, 41, 42; drills Galena company, 41; his views after Sumter, 42–44; at Springfield, filling out army forms, 46; drill-master at outlying camps, 46, 47; offers his services to Adjutant-General of the army, 48, 49; appointed colonel of 21st Illinois Volunteers, 50; first contact with his command, 51, 52; six weeks in Missouri, 52–55; his first experience in independent command, 55, 56; made brigadier-general by Lincoln, 58; Washburne's friendship for, 58; his advantageous position, 59, 60; in camp at Cairo, Ky., 61; seizes Paducah, 62;

warns Kentucky legislature, 62; reprimanded by Frémont, 63; attacks Polk's camp at Belmont, 63–65; his command consists almost wholly of volunteers, 66; his plan of operations received coldly by Halleck, 68, 69; his plan described, 69, 70; takes Fort Henry, 71; attacks Fort Donelson, and compels its surrender, 72–74; Buckner quoted concerning, 74; Sherman's magnanimity toward, 74, 75; the military idol of the day, 75; markedly excluded by Halleck from commendation for Donelson, 76, 77, but is first man promoted to major-general by Lincoln, 77; charged by Halleck with disobedience to orders, and superseded by C. F. Smith, 78, 79; grudgingly restored to his command by Halleck, 79, who wrongfully attributes responsibility to McClellan, 80, 81; his *Memoirs* quoted, 81, 82; his relations with Smith, 82; his *Memoirs* quoted, as to best plan of campaign after Donelson, 83; proposes to advance on Corinth, 85; but is forced to fight at Shiloh, 86–88; his imperturbability, 87; fighting at a disadvantage, 88; theory on which he fought the second day's battle, 89, 90; called "Butcher Grant," 90; why he did not pursue the beaten foe, 91, 92; Northern denunciation of, after Shiloh, 94; suggests movement on Vicksburg, and is rebuked by Halleck, 95; his strategic theory, 95, 96; Halleck's treatment of, 96, 97; asks to be relieved from duty, 97; Sherman's advice to, 97, 98; defended by Sherman, 98, and bitterly criticized by Harlan, 98, 99; restored to separate command and goes to Memphis, 99; succeeds Halleck in Western command, 99, 100; at Corinth, doing nothing, in summer of 1862, 100; letters to Washburne and to his father on the attacks upon him, 100, 102; results of his strategy down to Shiloh, 104; his original plan for reduction of Vicksburg, concerted with Sherman, 106, 107; its failure, 107, 108; McClernand's ambition and rivalry the main obstacle to his success, 109–11; recalls McClernand, 111; ultimate result of his controversy with McClernand, 112; relieves him of his command for breach of discipline, 112, 113; McClernand's last attack on, unsuccessful, 113; Sherman quoted on, 114; his further plans against Vicksburg, 115; expels "Jews as a class" from his department, 115; his order countermanded by Lincoln, 116; on trial at Washington, 116; ignores Stanton's "bribe," 116; the "wonderful" Vicksburg campaign, 117–19; his one setback, 118; Pemberton surrenders to, 119; Sherman gives full credit to, for plan and execution, 119, 120; his fame safe thereafter, 120; his conviction that he was to be the one to end the war, 120, 121; Lincoln's letter to, 122, 123; made a major-general, 123; his relations with Rawlins, 124 *ff.*; Rawlins's influence on, 125, 126; his drinking habit, and Rawlins's service to him in

connection therewith, 125, 126; his indebtedness to Dana, and relations with him, 123, 128; Young and Dana quoted concerning, 128, 129; his army scattered after Vicksburg, 130; and Rosecrans, 131; discourages suggestions that he be transferred to the East, 131, 132; placed by Stanton in command of new Department of the Mississippi, 133; headquarters at Chattanooga, 134, 135; relations with Thomas, 134; Chattanooga, the most completely planned of all his battles, 137, 138; Lincoln's telegram to, 139; "the coming man," 139; grade of lieutenant-general revived for, 140; made General-in-Chief of all the armies of the U.S., 140; letters to Washburne and Jesse Grant as to his ambition, 141, 142; dissipates Lincoln's fear of the "man on horseback," 141, 142; remains at Nashville through winter of 1863–64, 143; his fine letter to Sherman, and Sherman's reply, 143, 144; urged by Sherman to remain in West, 144.

III. *The Civil War* (2).

At Washington to receive his commission, 145 *ff.*; his first interview with Lincoln, 145; pen-pictures of, by R. H. Dana, 146, Horace Porter, 147, and Badeau, 147, 148; Lincoln's parting words to, and his reply, 149, 150; Lincoln's dealings with, contrasted with those with other generals, 150, 151; conditions, military and political, North and South, when he took command, 152–54; his relations with Meade, 154–56; his review of past operations, and plan of campaign, 157–59; aims to destroy Lee's army, 159 *ff.*; capture of Richmond subordinate thereto, 159; his all-embracing plan, 160–62; underrates Lee, 162; the campaign in Virginia, 162 *ff.*; the Wilderness, 163; his reception of bad news, 163; "a disclosure of his soul," 164; from the Wilderness to the repulse at Cold Harbor, 165, 166, 168; the frontal charge a mistake, 165; "I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer," 166; character of his campaign changed after Cold Harbor, 166; eludes Lee by flanking movement and threatens Petersburg, 167; criticized on account of the campaign, 168, 169; his aims and achievements compared with McClellan's, 169, 170; quoted by J. R. Young, 170 *n.*; his plans foiled by blunders of Butler and Smith, 170, 171; at City Point in winter of 1864–65, 172; his troubles with his subordinates, 174; the Butler-Smith dispute, 174, 175; why he relieved Smith from duty, 174, 175; relieves Butler after Fort Fisher, 175, 176; orders Sheridan to transform Meade's cavalry into a fighting force, 177, 178; sends Sheridan against Early, 179, 180; quoted on Sheridan, 180, 181; approves Sherman's plan for marching to the sea, 181, 182; fails to appreciate Thomas, 183; chafes over Thomas's failure to attack Hood at Nashville, 183–85; recommends Thomas's ap-

pointment as a major-general after the battle, 185; momentarily outdazzled by Sherman, 186; their cordial relations, 186; events shape the success of his grand strategy, 187; his headquarters at City Point, 188–91; leaves City Point, 191; occupies Petersburg, 192, 193; asks Lee to surrender, 194; their correspondence, 194–96; meets Lee at Appomattox Court-House, 196 *ff.*; the terms of surrender, 197 and *n.*, 198, 199; informs Stanton of the surrender, 199; a tower of strength in Washington after Lincoln's death, 200; saves Sherman from humiliation in matter of Johnston's surrender, 201; reviews the army, 201; disbanding the armies, 202.

IV. *In Johnson's Administration.*

Distrusts Seward, 103; relations with Stanton, 203, 217, 227, 260 *n.*; opposes Johnson's threat to try Lee for treason, 203–05; urges intervention to drive Maximilian from Mexico, 206, 207; Johnson seeks to make him his friend, 217; his non-committal policy, 218; his mission to the South, and his report, 220–22; his troubles in Washington, 226, 227; a giant among pygmies, 227; if he had been in supreme control, 227, 228; his *Personal History* quoted on negro suffrage, 228, and on Reconstruction, 229; forced by circumstances to support wholesale negro suffrage, 229, 457; his "swing around the circle" with Johnson, and its effect, 238, 239; letter of, to Sheridan on conditions in South, 239, 240; quoted as to his actions during the trouble between Johnson and Stanton, 242, 243; induces Johnson not to send troops to Baltimore, 243, 244; ordered to Mexico by Johnson, but declines to go, 244–47; his justification, 245, 246; Sherman quoted on the subject, 246, 247; and the Reconstruction Act, 249; has little influence on legislation, 251; protests against removal of Stanton and Sheridan, 251–53; uncertainty as to his attitude, 254, 256; appointed Acting Secretary of War, 254, 255; G. Welles quoted on, 255; his taking the office a mistake, 256, 257; his action criticized in North, 256, 258; breaks with Johnson over removal of Sheridan, 257, 258; relinquishes office to Stanton, 259; Stanton's discourtesy to, 260; question of veracity between Johnson and, 261 *ff.*; his meeting with the Cabinet, Jan. 14, 1868, 263–65; his correspondence with Johnson challenges the latter's veracity, 265–68; refuses to hold further intercourse with Johnson or his Cabinet, 268; nominated for President by Republicans, 270, 271, and elected, 271; in seclusion between nomination and election, 272.

V. *President.*

Confronted by critical conditions in the South, 273; refuses to ride with Johnson on inauguration day, 274; his first inaugural written wholly by himself, 274, 275; his Cab-

inet, 275–78; asks Senate to repeal the law making Stewart ineligible for Treasury, 276; brief review of his administration, 278–80; selects Fish as Secretary of State, 281; Seward's criticism of the appointment, 281, 282; J. Bigelow quoted on the Cabinet, 282, 283; relations with Sumner, 284 *ff.*; mental and physical contrast between Sumner and, 289, 290; believes in expansion toward the South, 297, 298; quoted on Motley's instructions and his disregard of them, 301; gives Fish a free hand with Great Britain, 304; his first annual message, 304; his second annual message, 305; approves of Fish's ignoring Sumner in renewed negotiations, 308; entitled to credit for establishing principle of arbitration of international disputes, 311; Baez of San Domingo makes overtures to, 313; sends Babcock to San Domingo to report on Samaná Bay, 314, 315; his attitude on Babcock's action, 315, 316; induces Fish to favor annexation, 316, 317; seeks ratification of treaty of annexation which results from Babcock's second mission, 317 *ff.*; his attempt to win Sumner, and the ensuing quarrel, 317–20; charged by Sumner with being intoxicated at the interview, 319; his persistent attempts to influence Senators, 320–23, 321 *n.*; angered by defeat of treaty, 323; was Motley's removal an act of reprisal against Sumner? 323, 324, 331, 332; why Hoar was asked to resign, 325; revives San Domingo issue, 326; Sumner's violent attack on, 327, 328; his message transmitting report of San Domingo Committee, 328, 329; A. D. White quoted on, 329, 330; his purpose in regard to San Domingo justified by events, 330; his views on acquisition of territory, 331; Fish's comment on his tolerance of *honest* difference of opinion, as applied to Sumner, 332, 333; Sumner's continued denunciation of, 333; his own comment on his relations with Sumner, 334; his inaugural address, 335, 336; his foreign policy, 335; proposes to recognize belligerency of Cuban insurgents, but is dissuaded by Fish, 337–39; his declaration on public credit, 339, 340; his connection with Gould and "Black Friday," through Corbin, 343 *ff.*; his recommendations concerning the currency, 350; appoints Strong and Bradley to Supreme Court, 354–56; charged with "packing" the Court, 355; problem of the negro and the South, 357 *ff.*; conditions that he had to meet, 362 *ff.*; his action in Georgia, 364, and No. Carolina, 367; his special messages on ratification of 15th Amendment, 368, 369, and on report of committee to investigate affairs in South, 372; acts in So. Carolina under Ku-Klux Act, 374; rehabilitation of seceding States due to his firmness in executing laws, 375; signs general amnesty bill, 375; S. Bowles quoted on, 379; Motley and Holmes quoted on,

380, 381; why he failed to retain the liking of men of their type, 382; his ingenuousness in politics, 382; his indifference to literature, 383, 384; his favorite companions, 384; early signs of party disaffection with, and their causes, 385–89; deterioration of his Cabinet, 389, 390; his military aides, 390; his many relatives, 390, 391; Sumner's charge of "nepotism," 391, 392; freely accepts gifts, 392; Rawlins's death a loss to, 393; C. E. Norton quoted, on his needs in the way of counselors, 393; his messages of 1870 and 1871 quoted, on the tariff, 396, 397; his civil-service record, 398 *ff.*; commended by Curtis, 399, 400, 403, 404; urges appropriations for Civil Service Commission, 400; abandons the attempt at reform, 402, 403; his interest in the Indians, 404, 405; quoted, on the overrighteous, 405, 406; dissatisfaction with, the only bond among Liberal Republicans, 410, 413; their "Address" an undiluted denunciation of, 418, 419; renominated by Republicans, 420; Sumner's May 31 speech on, 421, 422, 423; cry of "Cæsarism" raised against, 423, 457; defended by Carpenter, 423, 424; reëlected, 425; meaning of result of election, 427, 428; his two faults, 428; signs salary increase bill, 436; Butler's unfortunate influence over, 437, 438; his leniency to Richardson in matter of Sanborn contracts, 440, 441; refuses to inflate currency in panic of 1873, 444, 445; his annual message of 1873 quoted on financial matters, 446, 447; vetoes inflation bill, 448–51; his action commended, 451; in annual message of 1874 urges resumption, 452–54; quoted on the problem of the South, 458, 459; his special message on Arkansas troubles, 462; refuses to proclaim martial law in Mississippi, 464, 465; his special message on Louisiana troubles, 468; protects Kellogg government there, 469; Sherman quoted on his honesty, 473; his loyalty to his friends, worthy or unworthy, 474; relations with Babcock, 475; compromised by Babcock in whiskey frauds, 476 *ff.*; angered by "persecution" of Babcock, 480; charged with intervening to protect him, 481, 482; testifies in his favor, 483, 484; relations with Babcock after his acquittal, 485; prejudiced against Bristow, 485, 486, who resigns Treasury portfolio, 487; accepts Belknap's resignation "with regret" after his impeachment, 489, 490; appoints Chandler Secretary of the Interior, 491; character of his appointments to Supreme Court, 492; his various nominations for Chief Justice to succeed Chase, 493–95; finally appoints Waite, 495; his attitude on a third term in 1876, 497; quoted on the candidates for the succession, 498 *n.*; takes measures to keep the peace after the election, 503, 504; sends "Visiting Statesmen" to Louisiana, 505; strives to bring about a peaceful settlement, 509, 510;

approves Electoral Commission bill, 511, 512; his attitude a powerful factor in bringing about a peaceful solution, 519 and *n.*, 520; his administration reviewed, 521 *ff.*; his firm and consistent foreign policy, 522, 523; the Virginius case, 523–25; his messages and second inaugural quoted, as to his policies, 525–27; upholds American rights abroad, 527, 528; urges building up of an American merchant marine, 528, 529; on the perils of an ignorant, foreign-born electorate, 529, 530; reduction of public debt, 530, 531; his administration, in constructive achievement, second only to Washington's, 532.

VI. *Last Years.*

His trip around the world, 534 *ff.*; J. R. Lowell quoted on, 536; his friends out of credit with Hayes's Administration, 537; beginning of third-term talk, 538; his return from abroad premature, 539; goes to Mexico and Cuba, 539; the engineers of the third-term plan, 539, 540; quoted as to his attitude toward the plan, 540, 541; the Republican Convention of 1880, 542 *ff.*; his forces led by Conkling, 544, 545 and *n.*; his friends stand by him to the end, 546; his feeling as to the result, 547, 548; supports the ticket, 550; sympathizes with Conkling in his row with Garfield, 550, 551; relations with President Arthur, 552, 553; the Fitz-John Porter case, 553; commissioner to negotiate commercial treaty with Mexico, 554, 555; had fallen in public esteem, and why, 555; the Grant & Ward disaster, 556–59; loses all his property, 559; is helped by friends, 559, 560; writes the story of his battles for the *Century*, 561, followed by his *Personal Memoirs*, 561, 562, 563, 564; Congress passes bill under which he is restored to rank of lieutenant-general (March 3, 1885), 563; his commission signed by Cleveland, 563; his death, 564; his letter to Dr. Douglass, 564, 565.

Grant, Ulysses S., Jr., and Grant & Ward, 556 *ff.*

Grant & Ward, 556 *ff.*

Great Britain, outstanding differences with, 293; the Johnson-Clarendon Convention, 294 *ff.*; violently attacked by Sumner, 295, 296; Fish's instructions to Motley, 299, 300; reopening of negotiations with, 303 *ff.*, 306 *ff.*; Sumner insists on withdrawal of, from Canada, 307, 308; the Joint High Commission, 308, 309; negotiations with, influence handling of Cuban problem, 337, 338.

Greeley, Horace, on Missouri Liberal Republicans, 410; his dissatisfaction with G.'s administration leads to his indorsement of Liberal Republican movement, 411; nominated by Liberal Republicans for President, 415; unreason of his nomination, 415, 416; divers comments on it, 416, 417; indorsed by Democrats, 421; had no chance of election, 422; his overwhelming defeat, 425, and death, 426; 395, 413, 427, 551.

Greenbacks, retired by Mc-

Cullough, 444, 445; G. refuses to reissue in 1873, 446; proposals in Congress to reissue, 447; bill to authorize maximum of $400,000,000 vetoed by G., 448–51.
Grier, Justice, 354.
Grimes, James W., criticizes G.'s generalship, in Senate, 169.
Groesbeck, William S., nominated for President by free traders in 1872, 418.

Hague Tribunal, the, 311.
Halleck, Henry W., supersedes Frémont, 68; his character, 68; and G.'s plan of operations, 68, 69; after Donelson, praises everybody but G., 76, 77; reprimands G., and puts Smith over his head, 78, 79; grudgingly restores G. to his command, 79; attributes misunderstanding to McClellan, 80, 81; G.'s comment on his action, 81, 82; his plan of campaign after Donelson, 84; his humorous "capture" of Corinth, 93; difference between his strategic theory and G.'s, 95, 96; his treatment of G., 96, 97; his reply to Lincoln as to responsibility for Shiloh, 97; made commander-in-chief, *vice* McClellan, 99, 100; and G.'s Vicksburg campaign, 117 *ff.*; his prejudice against G. overcome by Vicksburg, 121; 59, 71, 72, 83, 94, 105, 111, 131, 134, 136, 137, 150, 165, 166, 167, 184, 226.
Halstead, Murat, 412, 414.
Hamer, Thomas L., appoints G. to West Point, 17.
Hamilton, Schuyler, at West Point with G., 21.
Hamlin, Hannibal, 494.
Hampton, Wade, 518.
Hancock, Winfield S., 247, 549.
Hardee, William J., at West Point with G., 21; quoted, 23.
Harlan, James, criticizes G. in Senate, 98, 99; 321.
Harris, guerrilla officer, 54, 55.
Harrison, Benjamin, 492.
Haworth, *The Hayes-Tilden Disputed Election*, quoted, 509, 510.
Hawthorne, Nathaniel, 291.
Hay, John, 214.
Hayes, Rutherford B., nominated for President in 1876, 498, 499; dispute as to his election, 501 *ff.*; has majority of one in Electoral College, 507; declared elected, 516; was he a fraudulent incumbent? 517, 520, withdraws troops from Charleston, 518; pledged against a second term, 537, but could not have been reëlected, 537; 455, 508, 509, 511, 546, 547.
Hayti, 312.
Heintzelmann, Samuel P., 59.
Henderson, John B., and the whiskey frauds, 478 *ff.*
Henry, Fort, strategic position of, 69; taken by G., 71.
Hepburn *vs.* Griswold (Legal Tender case), 352–54; overruled, 355.
Hewitt, Abram S., 501, 505, 506, 510.
Hillyer, Captain, 121.
Hoadley, George, 412.
Hoar, Ebenezer Rockwood, appointed Attorney-General, 277; his difficulties with Senators, 277; his nomination to Supreme Court rejected, 277, 325; on Joint High Commission, 309; his resignation as Attorney-General requested, and why, 325, 326, 386, 388,

389; accused of having assisted in "packing" the Supreme Court, 355, 356; quoted on G.'s honesty, 485 *n.*; 354, 438, 492, 493.
Hoar, George F., quoted in defense of his brother, 355, 356, and on corruption in public life, 429, 430; the victim of his own hyperbole, 430; his *Autobiography* quoted on G.'s anger with Sumner, 438; quoted on massacre at Colfax, 468; 439, 472, 513, 537.
Holden, Governor of North Carolina, 367, 368.
Holmes, Oliver Wendell, *Life of Motley*, quoted, 303; quoted on G., 381; 291.
Hood, John B., supersedes Johnston, 173; beaten by Schofield at Franklin, 182; before Nashville, 182–84; beaten by Thomas there, 185; 177, 181.
Hooker, Joseph, replies to Stanton's "bribe" by losing Chancellorsville, 116; at Lookout Mountain, 138; 59, 131, 132, 137, 150, 160, 164.
Hooper, Samuel, 383.
Howard, Oliver O., 160.
Howe, Samuel G., 328.
Hunt, Justice Ward, 492.
Hunter, David, 59, 71.
Hunter, R. M. T., at City Point, 188.
Hunton, Eppa, 513.
Hurlbut, Stephen S., 85, 109.

Immigrants, literacy test for, before naturalization, urged by G., 529, 530.
Impeachment of President Johnson, early talk of, comes to nothing, 259; House passes resolutions of, 259, 269; trial in Senate, 269 *ff.*
Indians, the, G.'s interest in, 404 *ff.*; 335.
Inflation. *See* Currency and Greenbacks.
Ingalls, Rufus, at West Point with G., 21; G.'s superior in his own field, 162.
Ireland, American sympathy with, 294.
Island No. 10, 99, 104.

Jackson, Andrew, 398.
Jackson, Claiborne, 47, 57.
Jackson, Thomas J. ("Stonewall"), in Mexican War, 30.
Jackson, Miss., taken by G., 118.
James, Thomas L., Postmaster-General, 550 *n.*
Jewell, Marshall, Postmaster-General, asked to resign, 487.
Johnson, Andrew, nominated for Vice-President, 172; his threat to try Lee for treason opposed by G., 203–05; denies amnesty to Lee and Longstreet, 205 and *n.*; declines to interfere in Mexico, 207; his accession regarded in North as a Godsend, 212, 213; his swift change of policy, 213, 214; his proclamation of amnesty, 215, 216; his character and defects, 215–17, 219; tries to win G.'s friendship, 217; favors qualified negro suffrage, 218, 219; his early course commendable, 218; sends G. on mission to Southern States, 220; alienates both North and South, 227, 228; his plan of Reconstruction apparently approved in North, 230, 231; might have won by a conciliatory course, 231, 232; his message of Dec., 1865, generally approved, 234; Sumner's criticism of, 234; vetoes Freedmen's Bureau bill, 235;

his violent speech of Feb. 22., 1866, 235, 236; his vetoes of Civil Rights bill and new Freedmen's Bureau bill overridden, 236; troubles with Congress due chiefly to personal considerations, 237; his "swing around the circle," 238, 239; his relations with Stanton badly strained, 239; his fatuous opposition to Congress and the result, 240, 241; his influence responsible for refusal of seceding States to ratify 14th Amendment, 241; G. out of sympathy with, 242, 250; orders G. to Mexico, 245–47; sends Sherman in G.'s place, 247; his veto of Reconstruction Act overridden, 249; removes Republican placemen, 249; his veto of Tenure of Office Act overridden, 249; and the measures of the 40th Congress, 251; his breach with Stanton complete, 251; tells G. of his purpose to oust Stanton and displace Sheridan, 251, 252; asks Stanton to resign, 253; suspends Stanton and appoints G. *ad interim*, 254; breaks with G. over Sheridan's removal, 257, 258; his removal of Stanton leads to impeachment, 258, 259, 269; resents G.'s surrender of secretaryship, 261; question of veracity between G. and, 261 *ff.*; his interpretation of Tenure of Office Act, 261; fails to understand G., 263; G. breaks off intercourse with, 268; endeavors to get rid of Stanton, 269; wishes to test Tenure of Office Act in courts, 269; acquitted on impeachment trial, 269, 270; recommends annexation of San Domingo, 313; suggests repudiation of interest on debt, 341; 260 *n.*, 274, 279, 293, 327, 372, 408, 476.

Johnson, Reverdy, Minister to Great Britain, negotiates Johnson - Clarendon Convention, 293, 294.

Johnson-Clarendon Convention, terms of, 294; ratification defeated in Senate, 295; 299, 300, 304.

Johnston, Albert Sidney, in Mexican War, 30; commands Confederate troops west of Alleghanies, 69; commands at Shiloh, 84, 85, and is killed there, 88; effect of his death, 88; 72, 76.

Johnston, Joseph E., defeats Rosecrans at Chickamauga, 130; forced back to Atlanta by Sherman, 172; superseded by Hood, 173; difficulty as to terms of his surrender to Sherman, 201; 118, 131, 160, 161, 170 *n.*, 185, 191, 193.

Johnston, William P., his *Life of A. S. Johnston* quoted, 70.

Joint High Commission (1871), its powers, 308; membership of, 308, 309; submits Treaty of Washington, 309.

Jomini, Baron Henry, 54.

Jones, Mr., Minister to Belgium, 321 *n.*

Juarez, President of Mexico, 247.

Julian, George W., quoted on accession of Johnson, 213; 505, 506.

Kasson, John A., 505.

Kearney, Denis, 544.

Kearny, Philip, 59.

Kellogg, William P. (Louisiana), 466, 467, 469, 471, 472.

Kentucky Legislature, adopts

resolution favorable to Union, 62.
Keyes, Erasmus D., 59.
Kirk, Colonel, 367.
"Kirk's Raid," 367, 368.
Ku-Klux Act. *See* "Enforcement Acts."
Ku-Klux-Klan, 358, 361 and *n.*, 367, 371, 373, 374, 375, 463.

Laird, Mr., builder of the Alabama, 294.
Lee, Francis, quoted on G. at Chapultepec, 28.
Lee, Robert E., in Mexican War, 30; (*in Civil War*) responsibility of, limited to his own command, 162; G. underrates his quality, 162; precipitates battle of the Wilderness, 163; forced back to Cold Harbor, where G. is repulsed, 165, 166; never face to face with G. again, 166; his army eluded by G. in flanking movement, 167; his losses in the Wilderness campaign, 169; tries to break through lines at Petersburg and join Johnston, 191; evacuates Petersburg, 192, 193; at Jetersville, 193; asked by G. to surrender, 194; correspondence with G., 194–96; their meeting at Appomattox, 196 *ff.*; accepts G.'s terms, 197–99; their further conversation, 200; threat of trial for treason, opposed by G., 203–05; denied amnesty, 205 and *n.*; 99, 142, 143, 145, 153, 155, 156, 161, 169, 170 and *n.*, 171, 172, 173, 178, 179, 181, 183, 187, 188, 201.
Legal Tender Act, held unconstitutional by Supreme Court (1869), 352–54; held constitutional in 1872, 355. *And see* Supreme Court.
L'Enfant, Major, 475.
Liberal Republican movement of 1872, originates in Missouri, 409; history of, 410 *ff.*; principal figures in, 411–13; absurdity of nomination of Greeley, 415, 416.
Liberal Republicans, summoned to meet at Cincinnati, 410; convention of, how constituted, 411; candidates for nomination of, 413, 414; nominate Greeley, 415 *ff.*; their address to the people, 418, 419; their platform and its tariff "straddle," 419, 420.
Li Hung Chang, 536, 537.
Lieber, Francis, 212.
Lincoln, Abraham, appoints G. brigadier-general, 58, 59; his modification of Frémont's emancipation proclamation displeases North, 67, 68; appoints Halleck in Frémont's place, 68; first promotes G. alone for capture of Donelson, 77; compels G.'s restoration to his command, 79; and the responsibility for Shiloh, 96, 97; his characterization of G., 99; makes Halleck commander-in-chief, 99; his patronage of McClernand and Logan, 109, 110; conditionally indorses McClernand's Mississippi plan of campaign, 110, 111; denies McClernand's request for court of inquiry, 113; and Swett's quarrel with G., 116; his letter to G. after Vicksburg, 122, 123; makes G. major-general, 123; Dana's reports largely responsible for his clinging to G., 128; his telegram to G. after Chattanooga, 139; makes G. lieutenant-general and commander-in-chief, 140; fears advent

of man on horseback, 141; his fears dissipated, 142; G.'s first interview with, 145; his last words to G. leaving for the front, 149, 150; his dealings with G. and with other generals, 150, 151; Northern discontent with his conduct of the war, 154; telegraphs G. after Cold Harbor, 167, 168; quoted on G., 168; renominated in 1864, 172; calls for 500,000 volunteers, 173; the famous memorandum of August 23, 173; and the Smith-Butler row, 175; quoted, 179, 180; congratulates Sherman, 186; meets Peace Commission at City Point, 188–90; proposed message to Congress urging compensation to slave-owners, withheld, 190, 191; murder of, 200, 212, 213; his probable course in Reconstruction, 208, 209; vetoes Reconstruction Act of 1864, 209, 210; his plans opposed by radicals, 210, 211; his speech of April 11, 1865, 211, 212; Sumner's failure to understand, 285, 286; 33, 41, 66, 108, 126, 130, 177, 181, 183, 191, 193, 219, 227, 229, 232, 398, 466, 502.

Lodge, Henry Cabot, *Early Memories*, quoted on Sumner, 288, 289.

Logan, John A., ordered to replace Thomas at Nashville, 185; favors inflation, 447, 449, 450; 384, 423, 496, 513, 537, 540, 548.

Longfellow, Henry W., 291.

Longstreet, James, at West Point with G., 21; quoted on G. at Molino del Rey, 29; denied amnesty by Johnson, 205 *n.*

Lookout Mountain, 138.

Louisiana, reorganized government of, not recognized by Congress, 210; conditions in, under G., 359; (1872–1875), 466–72; in disputed election of 1876, 502, 503 *n.*, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509; 375, 514.

Louisville *Courier-Journal*, 413.

Lowell, James Russell, quoted, 67, 284, 536; 291, 380, 499.

Lynch, John R., 361.

Lyon, Nathaniel, 47, 59.

McClellan, George B., at West Point with G., 21; his aims and achievement contrasted with G.'s, 169; clamor in North for G.'s supersession by, 173; 57, 59, 65, 70, 77, 80, 81, 99, 131, 150, 151, 153, 183.

McClernand, John A., supersedes Sherman, 108; his ambition and jealousy of G., 109 *ff.*; as a Douglas Democrat, courted by Lincoln, 110; his self-praise and attacks on G., 110; his plan for the Mississippi River campaign conditionally approved by Lincoln, 110, 111; recalled by G., complains to Lincoln, 111; his insubordination, 112; relieved of command for breach of discipline, 112, 113; attacks G. in request for court of inquiry, 113; Sherman quoted on, 113, 114; 51, 52, 59, 64, 73, 77, 85, 86, 88, 94, 115, 118, 298.

McClure, Alexander K., 412.

McCook, Alexander M., 130.

McCrary, George W., 509.

McCullough, Hugh, Secretary of the Treasury, greenbacks retired by, 444, 445, 447; 341, 351.

Macdonald, Sir John A., on Joint High Commission, 309.

McDonald, Mr., and the whiskey frauds, 478 and *n.*, 482 *n.*
McDowell, Irvin, 57, 59.
McEnery, S. J. (Louisiana), 467.
MacMahon, Marie-E-P-M. de, 539.
McPherson, James B., G.'s warm praise of, 143; 113, 144, 423.
Marine Bank of Brooklyn, and the failure of Grant & Ward, 556 *ff.*
Marsh, Caleb P., 488, 489.
Marshall, Chief Justice John, 353.
Massachusetts, refuses assent to Johnson's policy, 231.
Matthews, Stanley, 412, 416, 505, 515 *n.*
Maximilian, Archduke, in Mexico, 130, 205, 206, 244.
Meade, George G., retained in command of the Army of the Potomac by G., 154; his relations with G., 155, 156; his difficult temper, 156, 157; his long siege of Petersburg, 172; and Sheridan, 177, 178; 53, 131, 153, 159, 161, 174, 175, 193.
Medill, Joseph, 412.
Meigs, Montgomery C., 57.
Merchant marine, building up of, urged by G., 528, 529.
Merritt, Wesley, 192, 550 and *n.*
Mexican War, G. quoted on, 27, 28.
Mexico, G. negotiates commercial treaty with, 554, 555. And *see* Maximilian.
Military rule in South, G.'s views on, 458, 459.
Mill Springs, battle of, 71.
Miller, Justice Samuel F., minority opinion in Legal Tender case, 353; 513, 515.
Milwaukee, whiskey frauds in, 476, 477.
Missionary Ridge, 138, 139.
Mississippi, reorganized state government in, 230; Senators and Representatives from, admitted to Congress, 363; in 1875, 463–66; 375.
"Mississippi Plan," the, 465, 466.
Missouri, and the Liberal Republican movement of 1872, 408, 409.
Molino del Rey, battle of, 29.
Moltke, Count von, 535.
Monroe Doctrine, 322, 336, 527.
Monterey, battle of, 28.
Morgan, Edwin D., 552.
Morgan, J. P. & Co., 443.
Morrill Tariff, 394.
Morris, Thomas, 17.
Morton, Oliver P., favors inflation, 447, 449, 450; 231, 321, 326, 327, 328, 331, 352, 365, 373, 401, 444, 498, 513, 519 *n.*
Moses, Franklin J., Jr., 472.
Motley, J. Lothrop, quoted on G., 139, 140, 380, 381; urged by Sumner as Minister to Great Britain, 291, and appointed, 295; defects of his qualities, 292 and *n.*; prepares memorandum of instructions to be given him, which Fish disregards, 299, 300; in first interview with Clarendon disregards instructions, 300, 301, 302; G. desires his immediate dismissal, 301; censured by Fish, 301; negative results of his mission, 301, 302; Sir J. Rose's comments on, 303; demand for his resignation charged to G.'s anger with Sumner, 323–25, 331, 332; removed, 326, 331, 385, 386; 284, 338, 551.

Napoleon III, withdraws troops from Mexico, 244; 206.

Nashville, Hood and Thomas in presence at, 182–84; battle of, the most complete Union victory in the war, 185.
Nation, the, 412, 413.
National Intelligencer, quoted, 264.
Negro suffrage, approved by Johnson, with qualifications, 218, 219; desired by Sumner without discrimination, 219, 220; Schofield's views on, 223, 224; G.'s views on, 228, 357, 457, 459; G. forced by events to support, 229, 457; attitude of North toward, 232, 233; in election of 1868, 271; passage of 15th Amendment, 273; effect of hasty grant of, 456, 457.
Negroes, in "reconstructed" States, 359, 360, 361; dread of domination of, in the South, 457; in Mississippi, in 1875, 463, 464; massacre of, at Colfax, La., 468.
Nelson, Justice Samuel, on Joint High Commission, 308; 353.
Nelson, William, 86, 87, 89.
New Orleans riot (1866), 359.
New York, factional quarrel in, in 1872, 410; row over appointment of Robertson as Collector of, 550 and *n*.
New York *Evening Post*, 412, 413.
New York *Sun*, 431.
New York *Tribune*, quoted on Whiskey Ring prosecutions, 484; 410, 411, 413, 416,
Nicholls, Francis T. (Louisiana), 518 and *n*.
North, the, denunciation of G. after Shiloh, by press of, 94; military position of, when G. assumed chief command, 152, 153; general conditions in, 154; July and August, 1864, the darkest months of the war in, 172; one faction in, clamors for supersession of G. by McClellan, 173; Johnson's reconstruction policy generally approved in, at first, 230, 232, 233; blames G. for acquiescing in Stanton's removal, 256; misapprehension of Southern attitude toward negroes in, 456.
North American Review, quoted, 485 *n*., 488 *n*.
North Carolina, reorganized government in, 230; corruption in, 367, 368; 360.
Northcote, Sir Stafford, on Joint High Commission, 309.
Norton, Charles Eliot, quoted, 103, 200, 393.

"Old Guard," the. *See* Stalwart Republicans.
Ord, Edward O. C., 105, 193, 196
Oregon, dispute as to an elector in, 507, 514.
Ottendorfer, Oswald, 418.

Packard, S. B. (Louisiana), 466, 467, 518 and *n*., 549.
Paducah, Ky., seized by G., 62.
Painter, U. H., 214.
Palmer, John M., 412, 505, 506.
Palmer, Sir Roundell, 310.
Panic of 1873, 443 *ff*.
Patronage. *See* Spoils System.
Patterson, James W., 307, 320, 434.
Payne, Henry B., 510, 513.
Peace Commission, the, 188–90.
Pemberton, John C., surrenders Vicksburg, 119; 30, 106, 108, 117, 118, 170 *n*.
Pennsylvania, refuses assent to Johnson's policy, 230.
Perry, Mr., U.S., consular agent in San Domingo, 316.

Petersburg, Va., threatened by G., 167; Butler fails to attack, 171; garrison of, reinforced, 171; long siege of, 171, 172; occupied by G., 192, 193.
Phelps, William W., 471.
Philadelphia *Times*, 412.
Phillips, Wendell, denounced by Johnson, 236; 233.
Pierce, Franklin, 327.
Pierrepont, Edwards, Attorney-General, 464, 481, 482, 483, 535.
Pillow, Gideon H., in command at Donelson, 70; G.'s low opinion of, 70; 72, 73.
Pittsburg Landing, 85, 86.
Pius IX, Pope, 535.
Platt, Thomas C., resigns New York Senatorship and seeks reëlection, 550 and *n*.
Point Pleasant, Ohio, 3.
Poland, Luke P., 433, 462, 463.
Polk, Leonidas, 61, 63, 70, 76.
Polo, Señor, Spanish Minister to U.S., 524.
Poore, Ben: Perley, and the quarrel between G. and Sumner, 317 *ff*.
Pope, John, 48, 59, 77, 93, 95, 104, 131, 164.
Port Hudson, value of, to Confederacy, 105.
Porter, David D., runs Vicksburg batteries, 117; 110.
Porter, Fitz-John, his conviction reversed, 553; 59.
Porter, Horace, his *Campaigning with Grant* quoted, 87, 134, 135, 136, 147; 125, 165, 192, 346, 347, 390, 538.
Potomac, Army of the, G.'s first contact with, 155; from the Wilderness to Cold Harbor, 162–66; losses in the campaign, 168.
Potter, Clarkson N., 471.
Prentiss, Benjamin M., captured at Shiloh, 59, 85, 87, 88, 89, 92; 94, 109.
Price, Sterling, 63, 105.
Pryor, Roger A., 466.
Public credit, G. on the necessity of upholding, 339, 340; Congress passes act to strengthen, 341.
Public debt, proposal to pay, in greenbacks, 340, 341; in 1869, 350, 351; reduction of, in G.'s administration, 530, 531.

Quinby, Isaac F., at West Point with G., 21.

Railroads, great increase in mileage of, 442; finances of, 443.
Randall, Samuel J., 516.
Rawlins, John A., J. H. Wilson quoted on G. and, 124; was G.'s conscience, 124; selection of, for the staff, most fortunate for G., 124, 125; his character and influence on G., 125, 126; his service to G. in connection with the drink habit, 125, 126; Dana quoted on, 126, 127; appointed Secretary of War, 277, 278; sympathizes with Cuban insurgents, 337; his death, 338; a great loss to G., 393; 33, 119, 134, 163, 266.
Reconstruction, Lincoln's plan of, 208 *ff*.; Stevens's and Sumner's views of, 211; Lincoln's speech of April 11, 1865, on, 211, 212; what might have been, 219, 220, 224, 225; in G.'s administration, 357 *ff*.; G.'s views on wisest policy of, 458, 459.
Reconstruction Act *of 1864*, vetoed by Lincoln, 209, 210.
Of 1867, passed by Congress over Johnson's veto, 248, 249; terms of, 249.

Reconstruction Committee of House, reports resolutions of impeachment of Johnson, 259, 269.
Red River, 105.
Regiment, Fourth U.S. Infantry, G. commissioned second lieutenant in, 24; joins "army of occupation" in Texas, 27.
Regiment, Twenty-First Illinois, G. appointed colonel of, 50, 51.
Reid, John C., 501, 502 *n.*
Republican National Convention *of 1868*, nominates Grant and Colfax, 270; financial platform adopted by, 341.
Of 1872, renominates G., 420, with H. Wilson, 421.
Of 1880, third-term movement in 542–47; nominates Garfield, 546.
Republican party, suffers on account of salary grab, 437; loses control of House in 44th Congress, 452.
Revels, Hiram R., 361, 363.
Revenue reform. *See* Tariff reform.
Rhodes, James Ford, *History of the U.S.*, quoted, 146, 147, 485 *n.*
Richardson, William A., Sec'y of the Treasury, and the Sanborn contracts, 439 *ff.*; appointed to Court of Claims, 441; reissues greenbacks, 447, 448; 345, 444, 476.
Richmond, G.'s view of importance of capture of, 159, 160; abandoned by Confederate Government, 193.
Robertson, William H., sequel of his appointment as Collector of New York, 550 and *n.*
Robeson, George M., Secretary of the Navy, 278, 317, 389.
Romero, Matias, 554.
Roosevelt, Theodore, 437.
Rose, Sir John, negotiates with Fish, 302, 303, 306–08; quoted on Motley, 303; 333, 336.
Rosecrans, William S., at West Point with G., 21; wins battle of Stone River, 108; his reply to Stanton's "bribe," 116; defeated by Johnston at Chickamauga, 130; and G., 131; cooped up in Chattanooga, 132, 133; 57, 96, 105, 107, 183.

St. Louis, whiskey frauds in, 476, 477.
St. Louis *Democrat*, 477.
"Salary Grab," the, 435–37.
Samaná Bay, 314, 317.
San Domingo, rotation of Baez and Cabral in presidency of, 312, 313; Baez seeks intervention of U.S., 313; Johnson recommends annexation of, 313, which is favored by G., 314; Babcock executes protocol to that end, 315, 316; his second visit results in treaty of annexation, etc., 317; Senate refuses ratification, 320–23; G. renews efforts for annexation, 326 *ff.*; committee of investigation appointed, 326–28, and reports favorably, but no action is taken, 329; was G. on the right path? 330; Schurz opposed to annexation of, 408.
Sanborn, John D., and his contracts, 439–41.
Sartoris, Algernon, 534.
Sartoris, Nellie (Grant), G.'s daughter, 534.
Saturday Club, the, 291.
Schenck, Robert C., on Joint High Commission, 308; 15, 331, 386.
Schofield, John M., beats Hood at Franklin, 182; ordered to replace Thomas, 184; on negro suffrage, 223–24; his mis-

sions to Mexico and Paris, 244; his *Forty-Six Years in the Army*, quoted, 360 *n.*; Secretary of War, *vice* Stanton, 277; 130, 160, 225, 359, 360, 553.
Schurz, Carl, *Reminiscences*, quoted, 283, 285, 286, 321 *n.*, 370; his history and character, 407, 408 and *n.*, 409; rebuked by Lincoln, 408 *n.*; opposes San Domingo treaty, 408; mainly responsible for Liberal Republican movement of 1872, 409, 410; his companions in the movement, 412; urges Greeley to withdraw, 417; quoted, 471, 491 *n.*; 320, 380, 382, 384, 389, 398, 418, 491, 537.
Scott, Robert K. (So. Carolina), 472.
Scott, Winfield, G.'s early impressions of, 23, 24; general-in-chief at outbreak of Civil War, 57; 30, 31.
Sedgwick, John, 155.
Seward, William H., Secretary of State, distrusted by G., 203; quoted, 281, 282; 145, 188, 189, 207, 244, 245, 250, 291, 294.
Seymour, Horatio, Democratic candidate for President in 1868, 271; 359.
Sharkey, W. L. (Mississippi), 218, 219.
Shepard, Alexander, Governor of the District of Columbia, 475, 476.
Sheridan, Philip H., and Meade, 177, 178; whips Stuart at Yellow Tavern, 178, 179; Cedar Creek and "Sheridan's Ride," 180; G. quoted on, 180, 181; wins battle of Five Forks, 192; Johnson's reason for wishing to displace, 251; G. protests to Johnson against his displacement, 252; this question leads to break between Johnson and G., 257, 258; in Louisiana (1875), 470, 471; 134, 139, 156, 170 *n.*, 191, 193, 194, 196, 205, 206, 207, 222, 239, 247, 256, 297, 359, 360 *n.*, 381, 464, 505.
Sherman, John, G.'s sole defender in Senate after Shiloh, 98; and the panic of 1873, 447, 448; and the resumption of specie payments, 454, 455; 111, 234, 296, 339, 504, 505, 507, 511, 513, 537, 545 *n.*
Sherman, William T., quoted on G.'s character, 2, 56 *n.*; at West Point with G., 21; his magnanimity, 74, 75; quoted on C. F. Smith, 82; at Shiloh, 86 *ff.*; his advice to G., 97, 98; his anger at attacks on G., 102, 103; his part in G.'s original plan for capture of Vicksburg, 106, 107; his assault repulsed, 108, 115; superseded by McClernand, 108; his anger against Lincoln, 111, 112; quoted on McClernand and G., 113, 114; opposes G.'s new plan of campaign against Vicksburg, 118, 119, but loyally helps to carry it out, 119; gives G. full credit, 119; quoted on the campaign, 121, 122; G.'s fine letter to, and his reply, 143, 144; urges G. to remain in West, 144, 145; placed by G. in command of new Division of the Mississippi, 154; the march to the sea, 160, 161, 172, 173, 182, 185, 186; held at Atlanta, 173; enters Atlanta, 177; outdazzles G. in popular esteem, 186; congratulated by Lincoln, 186; cordial relations with G., 186; marches North from

Savannah, 187, to Goldsboro, N.C., 191; his "impossible" terms to Johnston, and their sequel, 201; G.'s tact saves him from humiliation, 201; quoted on G.'s troubles in Washington, 226, 227; ordered to Washington, and why, 245, 246, 247; goes to Mexico in G.'s place, 247; quoted on G.'s qualifications for presidency, 279; 54, 55, 70, 84, 96, 100, 115, 117, 132, 134, 135, 136, 137, 139, 155, 159, 170 *n.*, 183, 193, 225, 245, 260, 262, 263, 264, 360 *n.*, 381, 423, 473.
Shiloh, battle of, 85–92.
Sickles, Daniel E., 523, 524.
Sigel, Franz, 160, 161.
Simmons, William A., appointed Collector of Boston by Butler's influence, 438.
Slocum, Henry W., 160.
Smith, Charles F., Commandant at West Point, 21; G.'s admiration for, 24; commands at Paducah, 70; temporarily supersedes G. after Donelson, 78–82; G.'s relations with, 82; his early death, 82; Sherman quoted on, 82; 62, 68, 73, 76, 83, 84, 98.
Smith, Kirby, 205.
Smith, R. M., 361 *n.*
Smith, Thomas Kilby, 13.
Smith, William F. ("Baldy"), at Petersburg, 171; and Butler, 174, 175; why relieved from duty by G., 174, 175; claims that Butler blackmailed G., 175; 135, 137.
Sniffen, Charles C., 482 *n.*, 518 *n.*
Solid South, the negro question sole cause of, 456, 457.
South, G.'s mission to, 220–22; general opinion in, of Johnson's accession, 222; State governments reorganized in (1865), 230; threatening conditions in (1866), 239, 240; refuses to ratify 14th Amendment, 241; in the election of 1868, 272; rule of carpet-baggers and scalawags in, 272, 273; critical conditions in, when G. became President, 273; G.'s good-will toward, 357; conditions in, during his administrations, 357 *ff.*; report of committee to investigate affairs in, 372; predominance of negro question in, 456, 457; number of troops in, in 1872, 458 and *n.*
South Carolina, reorganized state government in, 230; negro supremacy in, 360, 361; habeas corpus suspended in, 374, 375; in the disputed election of 1876, 502, 503 and *n.*; 472, 514.
Specie payments, resumption of, urged by G., 452, and provided for by Congress, 454, 455.
Spoils system, denounced by G., 399, 400.
Spotsylvania Court-House, 165.
Springfield *Republican*, 379, 412, 413.
Stalwart Republicans, and the Third Term, 496, 497; out of favor and out of sorts with Hayes, 537; turn to G., 537; their diplomacy, looking to a third term, 538; their daring and resourceful leaders, 539, 540; preparing for the Convention, 542, 543; led by Conkling, 544, 545 *n.*, 306 of them stand by G. to the end, 546; support Garfield, 550.
Stanbery, Henry, Attorney-General, 245.

Stanton, Edwin M., Secretary of War, offers a "bribe" to G., Hooker, and Rosecrans, 116; puts G. in command of Division of the Mississippi, 133; and the terms offered by Sherman to Johnston, 201; G.'s sentiments toward, and relation with, 203; his want of tact in dealing with G., 217; his quarrel with Johnson of slow development, 231; relations with Johnson badly strained, 239; and the radicals in Congress, 242; his original attitude on Tenure of Office Act, 250, 258; his breach with Johnson complete, 251; G. protests against his removal, 252; refuses to resign, 253; suspended, 254; his letter to Johnson, 255; his suspension not ratified by Senate, 259; resumes his office, 259, 260; bars Thomas from the Department, 269; his removal admitted to have been within the law, 269; 77, 96, 100, 119, 126, 128, 134, 172, 176, 179, 181, 183, 199 and *n.*, 227, 235, 236, 243, 245, 246, 247, 256, 260 *n.*, 261, 262, 265, 267, 268, 277, 354, 492.

Stephens, Alexander H., at City Point, 188; his *Recollections* quoted, 189; Lincoln's interview with, 189, 190.

Stevens, Thaddeus, opposes Lincoln's plan of reconstruction, 210, 211; organizes opposition to Johnson in House, 231; his character, 231; denounced by Johnson, 236; rushes Reconstruction bill through the House, 248, 249; 215, 222, 269, 272.

Stewart, A. T., nominated for Secretary of the Treasury, proves to be ineligible, 276.

Stone, Charles P., 59.

Stone River, battle of, and its ultimate result, 108.

Strong, Justice William, and the second Legal Tender decision, 354–56; 492, 513, 515.

Stuart, J. E. B., beaten and killed at Yellow Tavern, 178, 179.

Sumner, Charles, his views on Reconstruction, 210, 211, 219, 220; quoted on Lincoln's April 11 speech, 212; organizes opposition to Johnson in Senate, 231; his character, 231, 232, 287–89; denounces Johnson's policy, 233; his interview with Johnson, 234; denounced by Johnson, 236; relations with G., 284, 285, and with Fish, 285; his low opinion of G., 285; and Lincoln, 285–87; leader of the Senate, 287; Lodge quoted on, 288, 289; Schurz on, 289; C. F. Adams on G. and, 289, 290; urges Motley for mission to Great Britain, 291; his violent attack on the Johnson-Clarendon Convention, 295, 296; Adams quoted on effect of his speech, 295; assumes to shape foreign policy of Administration, 298, 299; his influence leads Motley to disregard Fish's instructions, 300, 301; insists on withdrawal of Great Britain from Western hemisphere, 307, 308; deposed from Chairmanship of Foreign Relations Committee, 309, 333, 385; G. seeks his support in San Domingo matter, 317 *ff.*; divergent reports concerning their interview, 318–20; G.'s anger, and

the removal of Motley, 323–25, 331, 332; his wrath against G., 326, 327; his "Naboth's Vineyard" speech, 327, 328; breaks with Fish over Motley matter, 333; ignored by Administration in all diplomatic business, 333; has few real friends in Senate, 333; unsparing in denunciation of G., 333; G.'s "curious comment" on, 334; blocks bill for general amnesty, 377; his Civil Rights bill, 378; charges G. with nepotism, 391, 392; his speech of May 31, 1872, 421, 422; 215, 222, 223, 276, 281, 282, 303, 337, 365, 380, 381, 382, 384, 385, 389, 398, 399, 412, 437, 438, 439, 551.
Supreme Court of the U.S., holds Legal Tender Act unconstitutional, 352–54; how divided on the question, 353, 354; reverses itself after appointment of Strong and Bradley, 354, 355; was the Court packed? 355, 356; denies constitutionality of Enforcement Acts, 373, 374; holds Civil Rights bill unconstitutional, 463.
Swann, Thomas, Governor of Maryland, 243.
Swayne, Justice Noah H., 354.
Sweeney, Peter B., 343.
Swett, Leonard, and G., 116.

Taft, William H., 492.
Tammany Hall, 371.
Tariff, the, Act of 1870, 395; acts of 1872, 397, 398; in party platforms of 1872, 419, 420; G.'s views on, 530.
Tariff reform, agitation for, 394 *ff.*; G. quoted on, 395–97; included in Missouri Liberal Republican platform, 410, but kept out of national platform by Greeley, 415.
Taylor, Bayard, 498 *n.*
Taylor, Zachary, 27, 30.
Tennessee, 360.
Tenterden, C. S. A. Abbott, Baron, 310.
Tenure of Office Act, passed over Johnson's veto, 249; Stanton's early views on, 250, 252; relation of, to Stanton's case, 259, 261 *ff.*; 269.
Terry, Alfred A., 187, 365.
Texas, Senators and Representatives admitted to Congress from, 363.
Thayer, William R., *Life of John Hay*, 214.
Third Term, talk of, in 1876, 496, 497; G. opposed to, 497; House passes resolution condemning, 497 *n.*; Stalwarts plan for, in 1880, 537, 538; deep-rooted feeling against, in country, 539.
Thomas, George H., at West Point with G., 21; takes Mill Springs, 71; the "Rock of Chickamauga," 130, 131, 132; refuses to supersede Rosecrans, 133; relations with G., 134; his delay in attacking Hood at Nashville, 182 *ff.*; underrated by G., 183; G. urges him to attack, 183, 184; orders Schofield to take over his command, and suspends the order, 184; Logan under orders to supersede him when he destroys Hood's army at Nashville, 185; is made major-general, 185; 69, 77, 95, 135, 137, 138, 139, 155, 160, 181, 225.
Thomas Lorenzo, ordered by Johnson to take possession of Stanton's office, but is barred out, 269; 259.
Thompson, Jacob, 377.

Thornton, Sir Edward, on Joint High Commission, 309; 303.
Thurman, Allen G., 370, 373, 511, 513.
Tilden, Samuel J., Democratic candidate for President in 1876, 499; Watterson quoted on, 499 *n.*; dispute over election, 500 *ff.*; should he have been declared elected? 516, 517; 511, 512, 519 *n.*, 520.
Tilton, Theodore, 412.
Tod, David, 8.
Tod, George, 8.
Triumvirate, the, in Third Term movement, 540.
Trobriand, P. R. de, 470, 471, 472.
Trumbull, Lyman, 234, 384, 389, 412, 413, 414, 416, 505, 506.
Tweed, William M., 343, 528.
Tyner, James N., Postmaster-General, 487.

Underwood, Judge, 203, 204.
Union Pacific Railroad, and the Crédit Mobilier, 431 *ff.*

Van Buren, Martin, 535.
Van Dorn, Earl, 63, 105, 106, 108.
Vanderbilt, William H., his loan to G., 559, 560.
Vicksburg, value of, to Confederacy, 105; well-nigh impregnable, 105, 106; first campaign for reduction of, 106, 107; Sherman's assault on, repulsed, 108; final campaign against, 117, 118; fall of, 119.
Viele, Ernest L., 22.
Virginia, Senators and Representatives admitted to Congress from, 363; 359, 360.
Virginius case, the, 523–25.
"Visiting Statesmen" in Louisiana, 505, 506.

Wade, Benjamin F., 213, 222, 254, 328.
Waite, Morrison R., appointed Chief Justice, 495; 310, 328, 483, 516.
Wallace, Lew, 73, 77, 85, 86, 87, 89, 505.
Wallace, William, killed at Shiloh, 89; 85.
Ward, Ferdinand, responsible for G.'s financial disaster, 556 *ff.*, 560.
Warmoth, Henry C. (Louisiana), 466, 467.
Warren, G. K., 174.
Washburne, Elihu B., instrumental in securing G.'s first commission as bridadier-general, 58, 59; first suggests that G. be made lieutenant-general, 141; appointed Secretary of State, 275; 71, 100, 101, 276, 280, 282, 425, 432, 540, 541, 542, 548.
Washington, George, G.'s Administration ranks second to his, 532.
Washington (capital), thrown into panic by Early's raid, 172.
Washington, Treaty of, 309, 310, 530.
Watterson, Henry, quoted, 499 *n.*, 515 *n.*; 413, 506.
Watts, Mr., an Oregon elector, 507.
Wayne, Justice James M., 354.
Welles, Gideon, his *Diary* quoted, 233, 255, 265.
Wells, David A., 412, 414, 418.
Wells, J. Madison (Louisiana), 251, 505, 506.
Welsh, William, 404.
Wheeler, William A., 472.
Whiskey Ring, the, 476 *ff.*
White, Andrew D., quoted, 313, 329, 330.
White, Horace, *Life of Lyman Trumbull* quoted, 413, 414; on nomination of Greeley, 417; 412.

White Leagues, 357, 361, 469.
Williams, George H. on Joint High Commission, 309; Attorney-General, 467; declines Chief Justiceship, 493, 494.
Wilmington, No. Carolina, 187.
Wilson, Bluford, 480.
Wilson, Henry, nominated for Vice-President, 421; 222, 365, 424, 425, 433.
Wilson, James F., 280, 281.
Wilson, James H., *Life of C. A Dana*, quoted, 124; 56 *n.*, 125, 128, 174, 191, 221.
Wilson, Jeremiah M., 433.
Windom, William, 542.
Wood, Charles, his loan to G., 559.
Wood, Mr., 138, 139.
Worth, William J., quoted, 28.

Yates, Richard, Governor of Illinois, employs G. in adjutant-general's office, 45, 46; makes G. Colonel of 21st Illinois, 49, 50; 58.
Young, John Russell, *Around the World with General Grant* quoted, 128, 129, 170 *n.*, 301, 458, 459, 498 *n.*; 536, 543.

Zollicoffer, Felix K., 69.

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY
3 9999 08768 661 2

LEE

THE AMERICAN

BY

GAMALIEL BRADFORD

"It is earnestly recommended that every good citizen, every student of worthy personality, read for himself Mr. Bradford's study of Lee's inmost character. It must be considered an altogether indispensable book . . . gives a superb and convincing portrayal of the actual soul of Lee." — *The Dial, Chicago.*

"No finer eulogy of a great man has been delivered than this. . . . Mr. Bradford's book is a worthy gift from Massachusetts to Virginia." — *New York Sun.*

AMERICAN LEADERS

The lives of these men are the history of our country. Their deeds shaped our nation. Their personalities moulded our institutions. Their influence lives to-day as a vital force. And the story of their struggles and achievements forms an intensely interesting history of the birth and growth of our nation.

To learn what these men have done is to know the past history of America. To understand the problems that they have met and solved — problems often identical with those we now face — is to gain new knowledge of present conditions. To follow, through their lives, the current of our history as it flowed from one generation to another gives the best of clues to the course of our future development.

JOHN ADAMS
By John T. Morse

THOMAS JEFFERSON
By John T. Morse

JAMES MONROE
By Dr. Daniel C. Gilman

ANDREW JACKSON
By W. G. Sumner

GEORGE WASHINGTON
By Henry Cabot Lodge
Two Volumes

ABRAHAM LINCOLN
By John T. Morse
Two Volumes

ULYSSES S. GRANT
By Louis A. Coolidge
Two Volumes

HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY